Lord Chaitanya
A Biographical Critique

Volume III

Biman Bihari Majumdar

Dr. Biman Bihari Mazumdar (1900-1969) had worked for long 21 years before he embarked on the present leviathan on Lord Chaitanya and his contemporaries. While this book (originally published in Bengali in 1938) brought him instant fame, he never rested on his laurels. A scholar by inner compulsion, he made significant contributions thereafter to allied fields of literary criticism, sociology and a variety of subjects of contemporary interest.



Lord Chaitanya : A Biographical Critique

Volume III

Biman Bihari Majumdar

Translated by
Jibendranath Siddhanta

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Translator's Note

The translator is glad to say that the present volume marks the conclusion of his task of rendering Dr. Majumdar's classic into English. He is, however, diffident as to what extent he has been equal to the task.

The present volume is mainly devoted to the naissance of Vaishnabism as a national doxy, in theory and praxis. Naturally, it is more informative than critical. Historical explication is, however, not quite uncritical either. It behoves an apercu of the kind Dr. Majumdar betrays to see through the obfuscating welter of controversy that invariably afflicts any attempt at an exursus on matters of indeterminate nature. Most of the references available being hand-written, smudged and mutilated, it is an uphill task to write the history of the growth and spread of the Sri Chaitanya cult in the days of yore. The reader would appreciate the pertinacious effort put forth by the author, without which no data analyst can ever produce a connected whole. Analyst as a scientist and synthesizer as a metaphysian one must be. Dr. Majumdar being both, the reader would enjoy a holistic delicacy of a national movement divided as it is into Orissa or Bengal chapter and Assam chapter, for instance. The redintegration of the divers data and the diverse dogmas of Vaishnabism is a unique feat. The translator would be failing in his duty if he held his peace at this point of a complacent conclusion of the task. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the help with necessary books and the benefit of stimulating discussion provided by Partha Choudhury, I.A.S. (Retd.), Ex-Commissioner General, Land and Revenue, Government of West Bengal. The translator's thanks are due to Prof. Jayantakumar Ray and to Prof. Arun Bandopadhyay for their continued interest in the work.

Chapter XVI

Sri Chaitanya and his entourage as per Assamese texts

The Assamese spiritual personage shankardeb is almost coeval with Sri Chaitanya. Considerable resemblance is noted too between the cult of Shankardeb and the Gour variant of the Vaishnab doctrine. (The essential element of Vaishnabism, Bhakti is a concept which defies definition by any single English word. May be, both devotion and love are its necessary components. But we need the sufficient condition to define anything. We really fail, therefore, to render into English the term, Bhakti. In what follows, we would use Bhakti itself as our English term, in question. In fact, standard dictionaries have an entry, Bhakti, defined as love and devotion. See, for example, The Random House Dictionary of The English Language.) Returning to the Shankardeb cult's resemblance with the Gour-based Vaishnab-cult, we note that both hold the Bhagbat in high esteem and speak of the ninefold Bhakti as an object to be realized by Sadhana. (Note that, Sadhana is another untranslatable term. 'Spiritual discipline' or spiritual practice may hint at it, but a hint is no definition.) Moreover, both Shankardeb and Sri Chaitanya preached their religious faith through devotional songs i.e., by the recital of 'Kirtans'. Lord Krishna is the sole Deity to either of them too. But, then, Sri Chaitanya has worshipped Lord Krishna as a sweet object of Love. Shankardeb has glorified the Bhakti of a servitor. While Sri Chaitanya has recommended sixteen sacred names such as Hare-krishna, Shankardeb advocates only four such.

Shankardeb's relationship with Adwaita Pravu

There is no explicit reference to Shankardeb of Assam in any of the Vaishnab books of Gour. There is, however, a mention of one Shankar in the book, 'Bhaktiratnakar', to wit,

'Adwaitaachaarjer Shaakhaa Shankar naamete ।
Jnanpakshe tãr nistha hoila valo mate ॥
Adwaita Shankar prati kahe baare baare ।
Manorath siddhi mui koilu e prakaare ॥
Chhaar chhaar ore paagal nashta hoilaa ।
Tehõ naa chhaare taare Adwaita tyaag koilaa ॥
Mahaabahirmukh beej karila ropan।
Krame briddhi hoiba jaanila bijnagaṇa ॥'

English version of the verse :

Shankar is of Adwaita's branch or lineage,
Who, earnestly clings to the path of knowledge.
Adwaita next dins on Shankar the secret
Of his own path to spiritual fulfilment.
He enjoins Shankar to abjure his crazy way,
But Shankar is firm and hence driven away.
It was a mighty seed's dehiscence
Whose development's known to sapience.

Here Shankar has been said to be a zealous follower of the path of knowledge. Shankardeb of Assam also preached Bhakti with a tinge of knowledge element. He begins his 'Kirtanghoshaa' with the lines,

Do obeisance to Primeval Brahman—
The First Cause of all incarnations, Lord Narayan.

Mr. Luxminath Bejbarua also admits in his book, 'Shankardeb' that shankar was a calm and grave Bhakta or devotee (see ch. 18). The work, 'Sri Chaitanya Charitaamrita' does not mention Shankardeb in course of its determination of the Adwaita-lineage, which, of course, proves nothing by itself as indeed Krishnadas Kaviraj won't deign to mention one forsaken by Adwaita.

A Chronological Survey would reveal the contemporaneity of Shankar and Adwaita, both of them being locals of Assam. It has been ascertained that Shankardeb passed away in 1568 A.D. According to Mr. Grate, the year of passing being

established as above, his date of birth must be some thirty or forty years later than the reputed year of 1449 A.D. Bejbaruä's identification of 1490 Shaka (Bhadra) with 1569 instead of 1568 is inexplicable. But he does it in the book, 'Shankardeb' as also in his article in *The Asam Bandhab.* Having examined different claims and counter-claims on the issue, the author (Dr. B.B. Majumdar) concludes that Shankar was born in 1463 A.D.

Adwaita was many years Sri Chaitanya's senior. A 23 year old Bishwambhar visited Shantipur to chasten Adwaita for his folly of preaching the Jnanbad (i.e., a cult which ignores Bhakti and exclusively advocates the path of knowledge). Brindabandas puts the following words in the mouth of Adwaita's wife, who, allegedly protested on the occasion :

> 'Burha bipra, burha bipra raakha raakha praan ।
> Kaahar Shikshaay eta kara apamaan ॥'

English Version :

> 'Spare this old Brahmin's life : you must—
> I wonder who tutors you to dole such insult!'

According to the above estimate, then, Shankar must have been 46 when the said incident took place. Adwaita at the time was certainly above 46 or else Sitadebi (Adwaita's wife) would not consider him old. Going by Mr. Bejbarua's data, one sees that Shankar-presumably-met Adwaita in 1507 or thereabouts. Now, the experience of Trance began in Sri Chaitanya's life in 1509.

Umesh Chandra De writes, on the other hand to suggest that the meeting between Adwaita and Shankar took place in 1508 or 1509. This was after Shankar had finished his twelve year long pilgrimage at the age of 44. The Pilgrimage began after Shankar lost his wife and daughter. Shankar took lessons on the Bhagbat from Adwaita.

Dr. Majumdar infers that it would be wrong to rule out the possibility that Shankar received from Adwaita Lessons on

devotion as based on knowledge. After Adwaita became a devotee of Sri Chaitanya, the former tried to convert him to the cult of loving devotion. But it was in vain, which explains why Adwaita lineage list excludes Shankara. Dr. Majumdar is not at variance, for that matter, with Mr. Bejbarua's conclusion that Shankar stayed always outside Sri Chaitanya's sphere of influence.

Date-fixation of Assamese books speaking of Sri Chaitanya—

Many a book has been written in Assamese on Shankar much as they have been written in Bengali about Sri Chaitanya. Madhab and Damodar were the leading lights of Shankar's troupe of disciples. The followers of Madhab, a kayastha by caste, were known as Mahaapurushiaa while those following the Brahmin, Damodar, were labelled Baamuniaa or Damodaria. These appellations identified the two communities. The Mahaapurushiaas do not adore Sri Chaitanya. There is no inkling of a reference to Sri Chaitanya in the religious texts by Shankar and Madhab. Not does his name occur in the kirtan and the Ghoshaa of the Mahaapurushiaas. By contrast, the Damodoriaas acknowledge Sri Chaitanya as an Avatar or a God-Incarnate. (Ref. Rangpur Sahitya Parishat Patrika, 1318 B.S., No. 1, P.4).

Ramcharan, Daityaari Thakur and Bhusan Dwijakabi were conformist writers of the Mahapurushiyaa community. Ramcharan Thakur was a son of Madhabdeb's sister. (Ref. Sahitya Parishat Patrika, B.S. 1327/3, P. 76) According to Umeshchandra Dey, Gayapani or Ramdas is Shankar's disciple. Ramdas's son is Ramcharan, and Daitya Thakur is the son of Ramcharan. These are also found in the preface to Ramcharan's Shankarcharit as written by Haliram.

Bhushan Dwijakabi has written a biography of Shankar. He introduces himself as Chakrapani, a disciple of Shankar. He

further dilates on his family-glory in this manner :

'Hera Chakrapani mahaamaani aachhilanta ।
Taahaar tanay paache Baikuntha Vailanta ॥
Adyaapio loke jaak prashangsaa karay ।
Bhakati dharmatanistha buddhi atishay ॥
Taar putra murukh bhushan shishumati ।
Shankar-charitra pade samprati badati ॥'

English Version :

This chakrapani enjoys great fame,
Whose son's turn'd to Baikuntha, his name
Commands still one's high praise
For his devotion and righteousness.
His son is Murukhbhushan, childish albeit,
Who talks Shankar's life of late.

Damodar's disciple, Ram Ray or Ramkanta Dwija is the author of the book, 'Gurulila', where an encounter of Sri Chaitanya with Shankar is recorded and whose page no. 4 shows off Chaitanyadeb seated in the picture with his face turned left while Shankar, Damodar, Madhab, Gopal, Baladeb, Paramananda, Banamali and Misra gaze fixedly at him. (Ref. Rangpur Sahitya Parishat Patrika, B.S. 1318/1). The photograph indicates how egoistic prejudices of a band of these professional sadhaks resolve to nothingness at the august sight of the illimitable Master. (Even Ravana's soul got a stir when he aimed at Rama his arrous). Different facts of Sri Chaitanya's life in his book, 'Santanirnay' are noted by Krishna Bharatiy, a Damodar disciple albeit. Bhattadev's 'Sat Sampraday Kathaa' resulted from Krishnabharati's data. The Assamese archaeeologist Hemchandra Goswamy says that the Damodar-disciple Bhattadeb lived between 1560 A.D. and 1638 A.D. One is not sure that this Bhattadeb is the author of 'Satsampraday'. Reasons for discounting the authenticity of 'Santanirnay' will be given later.

Krishna Acharya's 'Santabanghaabali' gleans something as

given in 'Nrisinha Kritya' on Chaitanya. But Nrisingha's contemporareity is unknown something is said about Sri Chaitanya in another quasi-authentic book, 'Dipikaachanda', Hemchandra Goswami thinks it was copied in 1771 Shakaba or 1849A.D. But Mahamahopadhyay Padmanath Bidyanidhi is of opinion that it is a recent work.

(Bangiya Sahitya Parishat Patrika, 1319/1)

Shankar's encounter with Srichaitanya

Three old books of the Mahapurushia group speak of the encounter of Shankar with Sri Chaitanya when the former visited Puri for the second time. But they did not indulge any conversation. Ramcharan Thakur has written :

> 'Duiko dui muhurtek chhahi aachhilanta।
> Sambhasan na karia chalia goilanta॥'
> (Each gazing eaching but speaking no word the two greats thus depart)

Bejbarua's 'Shakardeb' ,however has several rhymed lines to portray the tears of each for the other when the two meet. Bhusan Dwijkabi also pinpoints the speechless meeting of the two. (Shankardeb 578-79 Payar)

Bejbarua quotes a passage from Bardoba's 'Gurucharitra', which refers to a brief parlance between Sri Chaitanya and Shankara when they were both witnessing a danće by a nautch-girl. The dance was being performed at the temple of dance. There is a reference to Nityananda-Balaram conversation also. Nityananda asked this disciple of Shankara two witty questions relating to a devotee's attitude to his Guru et cetera. It is further written in the same place that Shankara had conversed with Sri Chaitanya on the topic of Jagannath's Grace. Thereafter (according to the above source), gazed at Gouranga Pravu for a time and lauded him effusively as the Pravu was a divine power. (pp.229-230). The alleged presence of Nitai, who was preaching in Gour, and the reported attendance of a dance-

show by Lord Chaitanya himself seem to be fanciful. Since Shankar's said visit to Puri preceded the Lord's withdrawal—at a time when Nitai was in Gour. Those in Puri could not have Nitai in their midst. So Bejberua's trust in this account seems questionable. The reference to a conversation between Sri Chaitanya and Shankara is not a priori acceptable. The last twelve years in the Lord's life were largely spent in speechless trance, so to say. To confabulate with a visitor seems improbable, therefore, as far as the Lord himself is concerned. An exchange of graceful look might be noticed correctly as by Daityari Thakur.

Krishna Bharati's ,'Santanirnaya' makes amusing reference to a ruse of impelling Lord Chaitanya to step out. Shankara-troupe had shudras whom the Lord, allegedly, won't behold. But a Kirtan was started and the trick clicked. He came out but did not speak to Shankara because his was an unknown face. An even more direct approach was allegedly made next. 'They met the Lord at the landing-stair on the sea when the Lord had gone for a sea-bath at dawn.'

An examination of Krishnabharati's 'Santaniranay' undertaken by the author has pointed out several contradictions in its account of the campaigners who determined to meet Sri Chaitanya. We are told that the Lord used to wear a rosary round his neck in the manner of wearing a garland. Only, beads sporting the holy name of Hari each replace flowers of a garland. We are also told that the Lord refused to see the visage of a shudra. The third novelty concerns Shankar being instructed by Sri Chaitanya before the former started writing his 'Bhagbat'. Finally, Sri Chaitanya would Prescribe two different mantras for Brahmins and shudras. The third item here is absurd. Shankar omitted all reference to Radha. This could not be if he wrote the book according as the Lord had advised him to write. The other items are palpable lies.

Taraprasanna Bhattacharya presents a dissentious report in

defence of the book, 'Santanirnay'. The citations from Bhabisyapuran, Padmapuran, Garurpuran, Brihannardiyapuran etc. which are made out to establish the divinity of Sri Chaitanya seem to have made a favourable impression on Mr. Bhattacharya, who contends that Krishnabharati's 'Santanirnay' was a work of the latter part of the sixteenth century. Fact remains, says Dr. Majumdar, that none from Sanatan or Srijib to Kabikarnapur and Krishnadas Kabiraj found any hint as to Sri Chaitanya's avatarhood. They had copiously quoted from the said purans but never cited any couplet of the kind. They fell back on the none-too-conspicuous couplets of the Mahabharat and the Bhagbat instead. If some distichs of the above purans upheld the divinity of Sri Chaitanya, these illustrious biographers would not disregard them. So Dr. Majumdar suspects interpolution of spurious material into each text, in question. This sort of sacrilege by way of distorting holy texts might presumably belong to a later time. The Sixteenth century authors were by and large faithful to the texts they cited.

Dr. Majumdar is of opinion that it is not *a priori* inadmissble a hypothesis to assert Sri Chaitanya's tour of Assam as being later than Raja Naranarayan's invasion of Assam. If Gunaviram and Robinson be right in holding the opinion that the Raja assumed power in 1528, it is possible for Sri Chaitanya, who was in the land of the living till 1533, to have visited Assam after the Raja had invaded Assam. But, then, the conjecture falls through if the said invasion of Assam was a matter of 1546 as Mr. Gate would contend. The author concurs with the second view. He rules out the possibility under consideration. There is another flagrant anachronism in the claim that Shankar met Sri Chaitanya in Puri after the temple of Madhab was built by Raja Naranarayan. The temple was constructed as late as 1550. Sri Chaitanya had withdrawn no fewer than seventeen years earlier than that date.

Krishna Acharya gives in his 'Santabangshaabali' some account of Sri Chaitanya's tour of Assam. But he does not mention the year of the tour. Both 'Santabangshaabali' and 'Santanirnay' refer to the Lord's pity on Ratneshwar, his advice to Kanthabhusan that he might study the Bhagbat and the grace he bestowed on Kanthahar Kandali. There is that further report in both books that Sri Chaitanya had given initiation to Kabishekhar Brahma before he left for Orissa.

One Pradyumna Misra, who is said to have written a book in Sanskrit, namely, 'Srikrishna Chaitanyodayaabali', speaks of Sri Chaitanya's passage to Srihatta right after he adopted the ascetic vow of monkhood. He alleged left Shantipur and went direct to Srihatta. Those who had witnessed him at Shantipur after his adoption of Sannyas or monkhood categorically spoke of his passage to Nilachal instead. One writer, Achyut Tattwanidhi believes in the Srihatta hypothesis. But one must remember what Achyut Babu himself wrote in his book, 'Sri Chaitanyer Purbanchal Parivraman'. Sri Chaitanya, says Achyut Babu, visited Srihatta as an Adhyapak or professor, and made a copy of the Chandi in his own handwriting. Obviously, the reference is to his pre-monkhood days. One may be prompted to ask whether the Lord visited Assam at all. If he did, one may ask further, the reason why a profusion of fanciful accounts of his tour of Assam followed his alleged tour. I suppose the tour is no figment of the brain. After all, there's no smoke without fire. Dr. Majumdar has pored through the smokescreen to extract the truth of the matter. He is sure Sri Chaitanya visited Assam *en route* to Orissa, since the details of his itinerary between his leaving Benares and reaching Puri are not known. Possibly, sometime in the interim period he found it convenient to visit Assam. Indeed so many tales—fanciful albeit could not be spawned on a vacuous basis. The Lord must have visited Assam, if for a brief period.

Kabir and Srichaitanya

Ramcharan Thakur's impassioned account of Kabir's funeral would serve to illustrate Feigl's 'Pictorial emotional meaning'. But we demand as any exponent of logical positiveism would—a purely cognitive meaning. The gist of the verse-tale told by Ramcharan is this : Sri Chaitanya took Kabir's corpse to float it on the Ganga. Kabir had both Hindus and Muslims among his disciples. Each group insisted on its own custom of crematory rites etc. Neither burning nor burying but floating it—this was the practical way out of the impasse. This is what Sri Chaitanya is said to have done. The Raja wondered how Sri Chaitanya could carry a dead body of a non-Brahmin. Some chiselled arguments of one's spiritual essence being casteless are said to be advanced by the Lord. This pacified the Raja also. The spiritual philosophy as allegedly advanced by Sri Chaitanya is expressed in Sanskrit verse-lines. The Asiatic Society has preserved the verse. But it is not known for certain whether Sri Chaitanya himself wrote the verse-Krishnadas Kaviraj has not included it in the list of Sri Chaitanya's sermons. Dr. Sushil De thinks it is an anonymous verse. The author, Dr. Majumdar is, however, prone to believe Sri Chaitanya as its author. Terse but sweet, the lines appeal equally to the head and the heart.

Sri Chaitanya stayed in Kashi in the year 1516. This follows from Sri Chaitanyacharitamrita' version of his tour. There the base-year is that of his adoption of mankhood, which, incidentally was a matter of 1509. Hearsay evidence would suggest that Kabir's passing occurred in 1518. Granting that an anomaly of a couple of years in such a circumstance is not unnatural, one may not refute the plausibility of Sri Chaitanya's presence at the time of Kabir's death. In any case, the degree of anachronism in the above report is none too high, judging by the non-rigorous date-reckoning of our predecessors. Dr. Majumdar is a 'believer' as far as Sri Chaitanya's reported

presence beside Kabir's corpse is concerned. He finds it possible. And that is all he means when he says he 'believes'.

Ramcharan Thakur's 'Shankarcharit' reporting on Shankar's journey from Gaya to Srikshetra says that it took him 31 days. The author remarks that the above account may give an idea of the time taken by Sri Chaitanya when he undertook the same journey.

Some allegedly new facts about Rup-Sanatan

The above writer has said something quite novel in his account of Rup-Sanatan. It is said that Shankar met Rup-Sanatan when he was out on a pilgrimage for the first time. He had travelled away from Srikshetra a distance that took him 75 days. At the end of this journey he met Rup-Sanatan. Each of the two brothers had on hand some musical instrument. Rup is said to have addressed Shankar as the Lord of the world, 'who disguised himself'. Rup implores him to emancipate him. There is a bold assertion that as a sequel to their encounter with Shankar, the two brothers renounced their domesticated life. Shankar kindly allowed Rup's wife to follow her husband while they set out for a life of asceticism. Rup-Sanatan accompanied Shankar to Sitakunda.

But Bhusan's version of the Shankar—Rupsanatan episode is rather antithetical to the exalted account given by Ramcharan. According to Bhusan the only interaction between Shankar and Rup-Sanatan was a report about the two brothers as given to the former by one monk at Aligar. Neither did the two brothers write any hymn on Shankar in their books. They adored Sri Chaitanya instead. There is a mention of a dream-command of Shankardeb in the annotator's prefatory notes to Rup's learned play, 'Madhab'. Biswanath Chakraborty says, however, that Shankar was a follower of the servitor-form of the Bhakti cult. He would not command one to write a play of the kind of 'Madhab'. Shankar asked Madhab to meet one

spiritual preceptor, Brindabandas, of Brindaban. This Brindabandas was older than Shankar. So he is not to be confused with the author of the Sri Chaitanya Bhagbat.

As an updater of the book by Dr. Mazumdar, I think our author has prefered to reserve his comments on Ramcharan's Thakur's reference to Rup-Sanatan as being virtual disciples of Shankar, recognized at the first sight Shankar's divinity. To know an Avatar for one is a mystic operation. Decades of Sadhana, forsaking, wrath, sex, envy, egoism on the one hand and the divine Grace on the other are necessary to know one's secret spark of divinity or the soul. One who has conquered all external bonds may try it. Rup-Sanatan might have wishy-washy love of Krishna when they reportedly met Shankar. It's a lie to say that two family men rotting still in ordinary life had the insight to judge a person's divinity. Emotional exuberance is no psychic knowledge. The psyche or the soul knows quietly but infallibly.

A note by the translator of claims of Avatarhood

The translator feels a brief exegesis on putative Avatarhood should be in order. Every disciple can call his Guru an avatar in the sense that the Guru is the conduit through which the divine graces flows into the being of the disciple. But it is a way of acknowledging one's indebtedness to Guru. A true Avatar—Lord Ramkrishna and Lord Chaitanya is a divine birth on earth to accelerate the return journey of the soul to Bliss, knowledge, loving power and all that. Each Avatar alters the occult atmosphere of the earth and makes it more receptive to divine forces. An ego-bound, sex-bound Adhar would diminish and distort the divine force which intended to purify the Adhar. A global purification of the inner consciousness is the reason why God bears the play-acting in a human role. The purification of the global conscious means awakening in humanity the urge to know, love and follow God. An previous

Avatars have done so. It is necessary that the war-monger and the exploiter of the third World be purified. These perverts strengthen one's urge to purification. Yet the highest power, love and knowledge can only descend on earth after it is thoroughly free from ego and its silly trapping. Avatar Sri Aurobindo calls upon the race to emerge, selectively, into god-men. He Himself led the life a supramental divine man. He Himself regarded Lord Ramkrishna and Lord Chaitanya as Avatars or persons who know they are divine even when their outer front plays a human role. No Avatar is unconscious of his true divinity or of the work his inner divinity wants him to perform. Employing occult power, power to cure diseases by blessings, changing the course of World War-II by yogic power—Sri Aurobindo had resorted to all of these. But his Avatarhood is not proved by those feats which a Bibhuti might possess too. He is God because He knows He is good. Of course, advanced yogis of Asia, Europe, America and Australia have had occult messages of His divinity. I hope this note would show that none of the advertised avatars of the kind could be a true blue.

* * *

Chapter XVII

Hindi and Bangla Bhaktamal with annotations

Navaji and Priyadasji

Agradas Swami belonged to the Ramanandi community. His disciple, Navadasji composed the Hindi book, 'Bhatamal'. It was very brief. He himself wanted Priyadasji of Brindaban to write its annotation. Priyadasji writes that he was singing hymns in praise of Mahapravu and Manohar, when Navaji appeared before him and told him to write the said annotation.

Priyadasji writes further that he finished the annotation-writing in 1713 A.D. If he had an encounter with Navaji, the Bhaktamal must have been produced in the middle—or the end-part of the 17th century. Greearson is, however, of opinion that the Bhaktamal was written in the first part of the 17th century. (vide J.R.A.S., 1909, P. 610). Had it been so, Navaji would not be there in the first part of the eighteenth century to command Priyadas in that manner.

His own words referred to at the outset suggest that he was devoted to Sri Krishnachaitanya and that Manohar was his own preceptor. The writer of the 'Anuragballi', which was concluded in 1696 is possibly Priyadasji's preceptor. Priyadasji's confirmation of his Guru being a poet of Brindaban echoes the same assertion of the text, 'Anuragballi : This one-to-agreement between the two sources gives substance to our assumption that Priyadasji's Guru was the writer of the book, 'Anuragballi'. Now, Manohardas is, according to the book, in question, a grand-disciple of Ramcharan Chakraborty, the brother-in-law of Srinibas Acharya, and the disciple of Ramsharan Bhattacharya. (Vide Ashtam Manjari, Anuragballi, P. 69). Two Manohar's bearing identical descriptions is less plausible a proposition than our assumption that the writer of Anuragballi is none other than Priyadasji's preceptor himself.

Several pesons belonging to Sri Chaitanya's entourage as well as some others like Srirup have been incorporated in the 'Hindi Bhaktamal', some being barely mentioned.

Navaji is a maverick who treats Nityananda and Sri Chaitanya on the same footing. On P. 550 one finds an amazing characterization of Nityananda as an Avatar alongside of Sri Chaitanya who is, however, considered another. In the same place there is an encomium on the cult of Bhakti being popularized by them. Laldasji has elucidated the above excerpt in the following manner :

> 'Nityananda Srikrishna-Chaitanya bhaktirase।
> Dashdik nistaariaa amangal naashe॥
> Krishnabhaktiheen Gourdeshe je pashanda।
> Dalan karila diaa bhakti tikhna danda॥
> Sabaai bhajanparayan mati hoila।
> Karunasagar agatir gati vela॥
> Dasharas bhaabaakraanta mahaanta Sajjane।
> Charan upaase bhije prem-barishane।
> Krishna aar Srikrishna-Chaitanya naam Loite।
> Mukta hoila save bhabadurgati hoite॥'
>
> \- P. 10

The above lines in Bengali purport to :

> Nityananda-Chaitanya's bhakti-cult spread
> Far and wide, warding evil omen.
> Krishna-bashing atheists of the Gour stead
> Turned bhaktas, being salvaged by the mercy-main.
> Moved by ten strains of bhakti, each noble soul
> canting chaitanya-name, bypasses grief to reach the goal.

To Navaji Sri Chaitanya is regarded as an Avatar in only the eastern region of the country. Priyadasji identifies him with Lord Krishna himself. Navaji omitted Sri Chaitanya's reference while he wrote on Vishnupuri's virtues. The Bengali Bhaktamal does the same thing. But Priyadasji writing on the same theme

refers to Bishnupuri's high regards for Sri Chaitanya. While Sitaramsharan commenting on Priyadas's term, 'Mahapravu' says that the term simply means Sri Chaitanya. Laldas's acceptation of the same term has been confuted by the author, Dr. Majumdar who says that the term does not imply Jagannath. In fact, Laldas has misconstrued a relevant passage in Kabikarnapur's 'Gourganoddeshdipika', which is the root of this Logomachy.

Navaji informs that Oriya devotees called Raghunathdas Garur (i.e. the mythological prince of birds ridden by Krishna) because he used always to stand erect before Jagannath's image. Priyadasji writes that Raghunathdas Goswamy used to live in Radhakunda of Brindaban after Sri Chaitanya's bidding.

There is no new material on the lives of Rup, Sanatan or Srijib in the text of, or the annotation on, the Bhaktamal. But Priyadasji reports on Kabikarnapur's experience of warmed-up breath that Sri Rup exhaled. Kabikarnapur's person felt the warmth of the bhakta's breath, which was due to his impassioned emotion of bhakti ([illegible] p. 600).

Priyadasji also refers to Lokenath Goswami's recital of songs from the Bhagbat and in Particular to his Love of all readers of that sacred text. (p. 623). Again, we learn about one Bhugarbha Goswami, who lived in the Gobinda Kunja of Brindaban. (p. 623). There is another piece of information that Kashishwar Goswami came from Nilachal to Brindaban in pursuance of Sri Chaitanya's bidding, and obtained the privilege of serving Gobinda (p. 640). Raja Prataprudra, who languished from his failure to receive Lord Chaitanya's grace, once lay prostrate before the chariot of the Lord. Sri Chaitanya instantly immersed in divine love the Raja, embracing him in compassion. (p. 656)

Again, Prabodhananda Saraswati is merely mentioned by Navaji. But Priyadas describes him as one who received

Sri Chaitanya's grace and also as a resident of Brindaban. He also refers to 'the delight of numberless people who listen to the book of Prabodhananda being read out.' (p. 89)

But in the Bengali version of the 'Bhatamal' Prabodhananda and Prakashananda mean one and the same person, to wit, 'Pravu rechrined Prakashananda Saraswati as Prabodhananda'. (p. 307).

Had the above identification of Prakashananda with Prabodhananda been true, there must have been an explicit mention thereof in the works of Kabikarnapur, Brindabandas and Krishnadas. The motivation for such an artifice to identify the two is presumed to be the Bengalee Vaishnabs' Penchant for including the Vedanta-devotee Prakashananda in their own community.

Laldas's Bhaktamal

The *Bhaktamal* in Bengali is the translation only of a portion of the text in Hindi. The author of the Bengali version of the text is Krishnadas or Laldas. That author composed the Upasanachandramrita in 1684 shakabda i.e. 1762 A.D. (vide the Upasanachandramrita, p. 190). He refers to the following lineage of his spiritual preceptor :

Gopal Bhatta—Srinibas Acharya—Gobinda Chakraborty—Mrs. Gobinda Chakraborty i.e., Gouranga Ballava—Kishori Thakur's wife Sreemati Manjari—Nayananda Chakraborty—Laldas. (Ibid, p. 2)

Laldas describes in the third section the associates of Gouranga, and the Guru-Lineage. It is not found in the original Bhaktamal. He himself wrote the biographies of Haridas Bairagi (p. 177), of Gobinda Kaviraj (p. 223), of Chand Roy (p. 226), of Bhaaiaa Debakinandan (p. 227), of Ramchandra Kaviraj and also of the Raja of Puntia, which would not be seen in the original version or even in the annotation.

On Sri Chaitanya's influence in the Punjab, Multan and Gujrat

One devotee of Brindaban, Gunjaamaali, is mentioned in the original *Bhaktamal.* But in the Bengali version of the book, there is a reference to one Punjabi devotee—Krishnadas Gunjaamaali. According to the latter version, Sri Chaitanya himself garlanded Krishnadas with a necklace of beads of some ruddy stony fruit called 'Gunjaa'. He met the Lord in Brindaban, his so briquet itself having an allusion to the Gunjaa-episode. It is stated here that the Lord himself christened him so!

Krishnadas Gunjaamaali

Salvation through love of Krishna, the deity—
He practised and preached to Multan's laity.
Men took to Chaitanya-worship at his dictate,
Far and wide the name of the Lord did spread.

He now went over to Gujrat and installed an image of Lord Chaitanya over there. The establishment dedicated to the Lord, which is in Gujrat is known as 'Bara Gouriya'. Chakrapani of the Adwaita line founded another such centre at another place. This came to be known as 'Chhota Gouriya'. Returning to the Punjab—after his trip to Gujrat—Gunjaamaali set up a devotional centre at the village of Olamba. He next proceeded to Sind. The following lines in verse bear on his activities over the new belt.

He converted Hindus to Vaishnabas' cult,
Infusing in men's heart
Chaitanya-love; Muslims too—
Into devotees of Hari they grew.
From the Punjab and Gujrat to Multan
Everywhere such devotees did spawn.
Some became disciples of Nityananda's son
The Adwaita line looked ramose from now on.

Then renouncing all, to Brindaban he fled
And lived as a recluse well secluded.

It is curious that no standard biography and no hymn-book would refer to such a devotee. Of course, Chaitanya biographies— indeed all seven of them—are known for their abstention from giving detailed accounts of his non-Bengalee devotees. Granting that Laldas's account is an overstatement, one must remember that in the middle of the eighteenth century the Vaishnab cult spread in the said regions. And it was the time when the *Bhaktamal* was rendered into Bengali. Unless numerous people became linked with the Vaishnaba communities, the book in question would not possibly be rife with such reports.

* * *

Chapter XVIII

The ideal of asceticism as upheld by Sri Chaitanya

The authentic texts on Lord Chaitanya, which were written in the pre-British period, depict Lord Chaitanya as one always zealously endeavouring for the preservation of the austere conduct-code of monkhood. Mukunda, the Putative disciple of Krishnadas Kaviraj, is another author of the cult of Instinctive Sadhana for Vaishnabas. [This mode discounts the restrictive canon of Yogic discipline and gives a freer play to natural or instinctive urges of the human nature. The logic of this unusual approach his that man is innately a part and parcel of the divine. All his ideas, passions and carvings are *ipso facto,* ingredients of a divine living. One need not, therefore, expunge any craving as an impediment to Sadhana. There can indeed be no impediment of the kind.] Even this writer of the book, 'Siddhantachandrodaya', namely, Mukunda himself did not impute anything to reflect adversely on the character of Mahapravu, although he did not spare Bilwamangal, Joydev, Roy Ramananda. According to him none of them could be exempted from the taint of Parakiyaa or extramarital tie. The Parakiyaa practice of the Sahajiya mode is amour with another's wife as a means to spiritual love.] Yet it is seen in some unauthorized books of a later period that Sahajiyas didnot even spare Lord Chaitanya himself. (vide, for instance, 'Bibarta Bilaas' as amended by Srikrishna Bhattacharya (pp. 107, 108) and 'Rasabhaabpraapta' (Sahitya Parishat Patrika, 1326 B.S., No. 3, p. 145). These anonymous dateless books seem to be things of the past hundred year period. Their idioms suggest so. The authentic account of Lord Chaitanya's rigour of continence would invalidate these suspect gossips.

While rightly known as a man of an emotional mood to be

swayed by the wave of a pure, selfless love, Sri Chaitanya was also one of iron will nothing could make him budge an inch from the ideal of asceticism.

Sri Chaitanya would invariably hold women at bay. Parmeshwar, an owner of a confectionery used to gift sweets to the child Nemai. Yet he did not let his wife to approach himself for a Darshan (i.e., for having a full view of himself). The aged couple had come to pay their homage to Lord Chaitanya now settled in Puri. His living example of ascetic rigour was his message for the disciples. The above episode has been recorded in Krishnadas Kaviraj's Sri Chaitanya biography. An even more astonishing report is there in the book just mentioned. Haridas, a disciple of Sri Chaitanya, who had procured some rice from an old woman in order to feed the Lord himself, was disowned. He was no longer allowed to sight the Lord. Others sought some reprieve. But Sri Chaitanya was rigid. He would not let one remain with him that committed the sin of addressing the woman to procure some rice. Haridas took his life soon, jumping into the confluence of the rivers Ganga and Yamuna (misspelt Ganges and Yumna by English writers). Another tale marking the climactic of Sri Chaitanya's funk about women would appeal to admirers of the author of the book alone. Sri Chaitanya is reportedly thanking his attendant Gobinda who saved his life because as he is allegedly recorded as saying—'If by chance I had a touch with the singer, who—without my knowledge—happened to be a woman, I would have to die.' [Few moderns would feel such misogyny to be a part of an Avatar's weltansicht.]

In 'Gobindadas's Karcha' there is an episode, which, if true, would give a lie to Krishnadas's tales given above. A rich man had once sent two aphrodisiac women to test Sri Chaitanya's continence. Instead of cursing or avoiding them, the Lord enthralled them by his devotional cant of Hari's name. The disreputable women were spiritually stimulated by his contact.

[Jesus-Magdalene episode and Lord Ramkrishna's adoration of any whore as 'the Divine in play' would lend support to the Karcha.]

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Chapter XIX

Data on earliest Vaishnabs of Gour

The group of devotees prior to Sri Chaitanya's access to trance

Sri Chaitanay's advent is no adventitious bonanza to Bengal. Historians regard his advent and act as the culmination of faltering first attempts to establish an Vaishnabic order in the region. The preparations to this effect spanned several centuries. The fourth missive of Damodarpur indicates that a grant was made toward the construction of one temple of Gobindaswami. (vide E.P. Indi., vol. XV, p. 113, vol. XVII pp 193, 345). The icons in doublet as exhumed in course of the excavation at Paharpur are believed to be Radhakrishna-images (vide R.D. Banerji, The age of the Imperial Guptas, p. 121).

There is an explicit mention of Sri Krishna in the copper-edict of Bhoj Barman, the son of Bikrampur's Shyamal Barman. Numerous vishnu images of the Pala Dynasty are seen scattered throughout Bengal. Quite a few of these are preserved in the Hall of the Barendra Research Institute of Rajshahi and at the Sahitya Parishat shrine. Rakhaldas Bandyopadhyay avers that the Vishnu images found in Bengal, Behar and the U.P. outnumber others, these provinces marking the dominions of the Pala kings of Bengal. [vide Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture, p. 101].

The twelfth century A.D. saw the prevalence of a wide-spread custom of worship of Radhakrishna. Coevally with the composition of the Geetgobinda, Umapati Dhar, Gobardhanaacharya and even Raja Lakshman Sen himself composed a lot of devotional verses, depicting the Radhakrishna Lila. [Lila is a spiritual play of the divine. Even God's act of creation of the universe is His Lila. Unfortunately, this exalted notion of spiritual summit has been misconceived

as a mundane amorousness. Vaishnaba poets have created fine poetry at the price of this distortion.] Sreedhardas's compilation of an anthology of similar poems in the book, 'Saduktikarnaamrita' and Baruchandidas's 'Krishnakirtan' were greatly favoured by Bengalee readers. Sreedhar's work was a matter of 1205 A.D. while Baruchandidas was a poet of the fourteenth century A.D.

Srirup Goswami was conversant with the pre-chaitanya state of the religious practice with love and devotion for its quitessence. He included the writings of Umapati Dhar, Lakshman Sen *et al* in his anthology, 'Padyaabali'. Belonging as he did to the cognoscenti of the devotional literature of Bengal, he contended, *ipso facto,* that the love-cult of Sri Chaitanya had something in it which even the Vedas, Upanishads or the revealed words of other Incarnates of God verily lacked. (vide his Hymns, octave 3, distich 3). Srirup Goswami was a scholar of subtle sensibility. His remark certainly redounds to the distinction of novelty in the creed of devotional love which was preached by Lord Chaitanya.

Madhabendra Puri has been projected in the Vaishnabic writings of Gour as the premier preacher of the love-cult. Madhabendra Puri's disciples—Iswar Puri, Parmananda Puri, Keshav Bharati *et al*—numbering as many as twenty-three and meriting reverent mention by scholars of Srijib's rank were quite active preachers of the cult themselves. Pundarik Vidyaanidhi and Adwaita were campaigners the east zone and Iswar Puri of the north. Others took care of other zones too, as may be presumed. Given the benefit of hind-sight one would contend that the Madhabendra community paved the way for Sri Chaitanya.

Those Krishna-devotees, who belonged to the time prior to Biswambhar Misra's return from Gaya included Madhabendra Puri, Adwaita, Chrandrasekhar, Sribaas, Mukunda, Haridas, Nityananda, Iswar Puri and Suklambar. There occurs in the

play, 'Sri Chaitanya Chandroday' the names of three brothers of Sribas—Srikanta, Sri Pati and Sriram as also of Pundarik Vidyanidhi, Basudev, Nrisingha, Debananda and Bakreswar. They belong to the same category of spiritualists as those mentioned above. (Vide Sri Chaitanya Bhagbat, 1/2/28, 2/1/142 and 2/1/151). It is also known from Sekhar's verse that Narahari Sarkar had sung songs of Brajarasa even before Sri Chaitanya's advent on earth. (vide Gourapadatarangini, p. 302). Maladhar Basu (Gunarajkhan) is known to have translated a portion of the Srimadbhagbat, some five years before the advent of the Lord.

It follows from the above account that the study of the Bhagbat was no rarity in Bengal in the days before Lord Chaitanya had his spiritual experience of ecstatic trance. Debananda Pandit, Ratnagarbha Acharya, Maladhar Basu *et. al* took part in the discourse on, and the teaching of, the Bhagbat. It is possible that this small coterie of Bhagbat devotees grew in consequence of the work of preaching due to Madhabendra Puri and his disciples.

The basis of the above surmise is the mention of those devotees who preceded Biswambhar's experience of ecstatic trance, and many of whom were incidentally, influenced by Madhabendra Puri. It is learnt from 'Sri Chaitanya-charitaamrita' that Madhabendra Puri and Sri Rangapuri came for once to Jagannath Misra's house and stayed there as his guests. (vide 2/9, *loc. cit.*). It is Plausible enough as a conjecture that Jagannath Misra's friend, Ratnagarbha Acharya, Hiranya and Jagadish, Suklambar Brahmachari and Gangadas Pandit as also Sadasib Pandit had imbibed the doctrine of devotional love from Madhabendra Puri himself. Iswarpuri is a local of Kumarhatta, as Sriman Pandit also is for sure. Akna of the district of Hooghly is not far from Kumarhatta. It is not impossible, then, that Garur, Bakreswar, Pandit and others were influenced by Iswarpuri in the matter of their being wedded to

the Vaishnab cult. Kulingram, the residential village of Maladhar Basu was in the propinquity of Kumarhatta. It is presumed that Maladhar Basu was, for that matter, unlikely to remain outside Iswarpuri's influence.

Any contention that Madhabendra and Iswarpuri had influence on devotees older than Srichaitanya is no more than a possible conjecture so far as the devotees concerned belonged to West Bengal. But, then, such influence is conspicuous on devotees of this category who belonged to East Bengal. Adwaita hailed from Srihatta. So did Murari Gupta, Chandrasekhar and the four brothers that Sribas's were. These devotees would assemble at the house of Adwaita for a session of Vaishnab songs or for studying the Bhagbat. And Adwaita was himself a disciple of Madhabendra.

Pundarik Vidyanidhi's native village, chakrasal was in the district of Chattagram. Basudeb Dutta and his brothers—Mukunda and Gobinda—were from the same village. In the section of Invocation of Benediction of the work, 'Vaishnabtoshini', Sanatan Goswami has only adored the three Dutta brothers besides his preceptors, Adwaita, Nityananda, Sribas and Gadadhar. Mukunda Dutta used to read in a Nabadwip School (of Sanskrit education). He would fight shy of Nemai. If he came Nemai's way perchance, he would take fright and take to his heels. Mukunda was, of course, the best singer of the Kirtan. [Kirtan is a devotional song of a plangent note, being typical of Vaishnabs.] Pundarik, who occasionally visited Nabadwip was the friend of Gadadhar Pandit's father—Madhab Misra. Kabikarnapur in his 'Gourganoddeshdipika' describes Madhab Misra as a revelation of that. [That, i.e., Tat, is the silent Brahman—the Featureless Beyond. Here it is a qualified God indeed as the Featureless is unmanifest.] Gadadhar's turn for devotion, which was noticed even in his boyhood, was a blissful contagion due to his father.

Evidently, the above account argues to the direct or indirect

influence Madhabendra Puri and his disciples had exerted on all those who flourished as Krishna-lovers among the devotees of the time prior to the spiritual trance of Sri Chaitanya. Fittingly, the following distich of the 'Chaitanyabhagbat' acknowledges this influence :

> Madhabendra—Prime protagonist of devotional cult,
> As Sri Chaitanya himself had averred.—(*loc.cit.*,1/6/69)

SriJib Goswami, coining the compound term 'Madhab community' contends

> To adore Madhab sect Vaishnab is to reach fulfilment—
> It's they who inculcated in men the Krishna-love element.

Sri Chaitanya—Was he affiliated to a community?

Even if Sri Chaitanya belonged at all to any community, the issue is verily polemical. Dr. Sushil Kumar De disputes the view of Gourganoddeshdipika' and of 'premratnaabali' and contends that there is no evidence that Madhabendra Puri or his disciple, Ishwar Puri, who had influenced Sri Chaitanya's incipient attitude to religiousity, belonged at all to the Madhawa clan of ascetics. (For details vide Fetschrift. Moriz Winternitz, who quotes Dr. De, in his 'Pre-chaitanya Vaisnavism in Bengal', p. 200).

It is remarked by the above author (vide p. 199, *loc. cit.*) that the eighteenth century work, 'Bhaktiratnakar' approvingly cites the catalogue of successive preceptors (or the Gurupranaali) as recorded in 'Gourganoddeshdipika'. Possibly, the agreement between 'Bhaktiratnaakar' and Baladev Vidyabhusan's work in this matter is due to their having the same source, viz., 'Gourganoddeshdipika'. In any case, 'Bhaktiratnakar' did not conceivably copy the list from Baladev's work.

The opinion of Mr. Satyananda Goswami lends support to the sceptic note of Dr. De. In fact, Mr. Goswami is even more categorical in his denial as he remarks—'Nowhere else than

Baladev do we find any assertion to the effect that Madhabendra Puri *et. al.* belonged to the Maddhwa community'.—(Quoted from 'SriBhagbat Sandarver Bhumikaa').

Sri Satyendranath Basu expresses an opinion similar to Dr. De's (vide *The Basumati,* Poush, 1342 B.S., p. 453).

I prefer, however, to enumerate at this point the works which declare Madhabendra Puri as a Maddhwa ascetic. The chronological ordering of the said works yields the following chart.

1. Gourganoddeshdipika (21-25) 1576 A.D.
2. Gopalguru-krita Padya (Bhaktiratnaakar, pp. 312-13, citation)
3. Debakinandan, Brihat Vaishnab Bandanaar Puñthi.
4. Biswanath Chakraborty, Sri Gourganaswarup-tattwa-chandrikaar Puñthi.
5. Anuragballi (1696 A.D.) (pp. 48-49)
6. Bhaktiratnaakar (pp. 308-11)
7. Gobindabhaasya
8. Prameyaratnaabali
9. Laldas's Bhaktamaal (pp. 26-27, The Basumati edition).

Apart from these nine texts, there are some quasi-authentic works which include Madhabendra Puri in the Maddhwa sect. 'Muralibilaas' (pp. 417-19) and 'Adwaitaprakash' deserve mention when we have such works in mind.

The long list however means little of independent research. In fact, the Gurupranali (i.e., the successive Gurus' list) given in the first cited pair of books has been bodily taken over in all the nine works just cited.

The Gopalguru-verse ends up with the panegyric :

> Lord Chaitanya's on earth a wishing tree—
> Also known as Nimaananda, he is a universal celebrity.

Debakinandan, however, does not recognize the alias, Nimaananda, of Sri Chaitanya. So it is that he has debarred

from translating the last-cited distich from Gopalguru-verse in his 'Brihat Vaishnab Bandana'. Gopalguru expunged the surname, Puri, from Madhabendra's and Iswar's name. The same was Baladev Vidyabhusan's practice as well. Gopalguru is described as the disciple of Bakreswar Pandit in 'Brihat Vaishnab Bandana' and 'Bhaktiratnaakar'. Amritalal Pal in his 'Bakreswar Charit' even describes Gopalguru as the founder of the Radhakanta Math of Puri. He has mentioned sixteen mohantas of the math, beginning with the founder-president, Gopalguru himself. (A math is a monastery. The mahanta is its spiritual and organizational leader). The author last mentioned adds that the disciples of Gopalguru of Brindaban were given the appellation of 'Nemai School' (or 'Nemai community'). They carried an alternative nomenclature—their group being referred to as 'spastadayeeks' also. So Gopalguru is not to be dismissed summarily.

It, then, follows from the above deliberations that only two persons, who received Sri Chaitanya's grace, being younger than he also, believed that Madhabendra belonged to the Maddhwa community. The two in question are Kabikarnapur and Gopalguru. Both have described Madhabendra in the said manner. But, then, Amarchandra Roy, Dr. Sushilkumar De and Satyendranath Basu detect divergences of the Gurupranali as given, for example, by Kabikarnapur and that given in the authentic Madhwa community record. There are blotches of anachronism too. (vide Amarchandra Roy's article in the *Udbodhan*, 1336 B.S. Chaitra, pp. 136-48, Baisakh, pp. 204-53).

Now, Mr. Rajendra Ghosh places 'Nyayaratna's author between 1446 and 1539 inclusively of the terminal years. He notes that a dissentious record describes him as the chief of the North Block of the Udipimath. (vide Adwaitasiddhi's preface pp. 47-48). Looking up the above table, we understand that Vyaasaroy was of the same temporal bourne as Raghunath.

Gourganoddeshdipika's Gurupranali	Gurupranali as preserved in Udipi Math (Main Branch)	The list preserved in UDIPI math (other Branch) - (Ref. Adwaitasiddhi's preface, p. 47 and the Basumati, Pous, 1342
1. Maddhwaachaarya	1. Maddhwa 1040 Shak	
2. Padmanabha	2. Padmanabha 1120 Shak	
3. Narahari	3. Narahari 1127 Shak	
4. Madhabdwija	4. Madhab 1136 Shak	
5. Akshova	5. Akhovya 1159 Shak	
6. Jaytirtha	6. Jaytirtha 1137 Shak	
7. Jnansindhu	7. Vidyanidhi (or, Vidyanidhiraj) 1190 Shak	
8. Mahanidhi		
9. Vidyanidhi		
10. Rajendra	8. Kabindra 1255 Shak	Rajendratirtha
11. Jaydharma	9. Bagish 1261 Shak	Bijoydhwaj
12. Brahmanya Purushottam	10. Ramchandra 1269 Shak	Purushottam
	11. Vidyanidhi 1298 Shak	Subrahmana
13. Vyaastirtha	12. Raghunath 1366 Shak	Vyaasaraj - Vyaasroy
14. Luxmipati	13. Raghubarsha 1424 Shak	
15. Madhabendra	14. Raghuttam 1471 Shak	
	15. Vedavyaasatirtha 1517 Shak	

The year of Raghunath's assumption of the Math-chief's office should presumably be 1366 Shak (i.e., 1444 A.D.). Some, however, have placed Vyaasaroy in 1548 A.D. May be, they have mixed up Brahmanya's disciple i.e., Vyaasaroy with Vedavyaasthirtha. In the 'Nyaamrita', Vyaastirtha is made out to be a disciple of his Guru, Brahmanya, and that too on his own admission.

Sri Chaitanya manifested in 1486 A.D. and took his initiation from Iswarpuri in 1508 A.D. when he was twenty-

three years of age. The initiation date might be sometime in early 1509 A.D. according to some sources. Long sixty three years separated Vyaastirtha's accession to the preceptor grade in 1446 and Sri Chaitanya's initiation in say 1509. It is not absurd, then, for successive initiations from Vyastirtha to Sri Chaitanya via the intermediaries of Luxmipati, Madhabendra and Iswarpuri. In fact, there would be detected no fallacy if it is held that Luxmipati gave the initiation to madhabendra and Madhabendra to Iswarpuri while Vyaastirtha himself initiated Luxmipati and Iswarpuri initiated Sri Chaitanya. It is seen from the Udipimath record that the forty-years from 1255 to 1298 shak saw as many as four Gurus.

Kabikarnapur's list coincides the said matha's list upto the sixth Guru. Thereafter disparity and disagreement ensue.

It is to be noted that the list of the math has three conspicious omissions—Luxmipatis Madhabendra and Iswarpuri do not figure there. One reason may be Madhabendra's delinking from the Maddhwas. He has been acclaimed as the doyen of a new cult of loves such as is expedient for an unbranded maverick. By the same token, Luxmi's name was expunged. He was really the Guru of Madhabendra himself.

Mr. Satyendranath Basu writes—'Vyaasraj's Nyayaamrita' was written before Madhusudan wrote 'Adwaitasiddhi'. Vyaasaraj, then incapacitated owing to senescence enjoined his disciple Vyaasram to confute the contention of the writer of 'Adwaitasiddhi'. From the above facts one adduces another important conclusion that Vyaasaraj was in the land of the living even many years after the withdrawal of Sri Chaitanya'. Satyendranath here adapts from Rajendranath Ghosh's 'Adwaitasiddhir Bhumika'. Madhusudan Saraswati's life as given by Mr. Ghosh is based on hearsay evidences. Infact, Mr. Ghosh admits it himself. (vide p. 116). Let me cite one proof of their being self-contradictory. Mr. Ghosh decides that

Madhusudan Saraswati was born in 1526 or thereabouts. (Ibid, p. 126). How is that Madhusudan is said to visit Nabadwip at twelve at the news of the incarnation of Srikrishnachaitanya (vide pp. 132-36)? Sri Chaitanya left Nabadwip for Nilachal early in 1510, when Madhusudan was 12, which he was to be in 1537—as per Mr. Ghosh's own decision—it was already four years since the withdrawal of Sri Chaitanya Lila. For the Lord had left the land of the living in 1533, when Madhusudan was only 8. Moreover, he had left Nabadwip at least 15 years before Madhusudan first saw the light of the earth. Satyen Babu, on the other hand tries a hand at striking a balance between the incompatibles—fact and figment. His placing Madhusudan's birth in 1520 or a year or two before won't emend the error in full. It would have us believe that Sri Chaitanya was in Nabadwip even eight years after he left the place. Mr. Ghosh would have the Lord stay four years more after he departed for Nilachal. But the dates of the Lord's arrival to and departure from these places are well established. And no hocus-pocus of calendaring or almanac-making can equate a false hearsay to a documented truth. It is blithering moonshine to excogitate a scheme of canards for modifying facts of history which are incontrovertible. Mr. Ghosh is caught tripping even when he mistakes Ballavaachaarya's year of passing to be 1587. His date-mark differs by a wide chalk from the true year-mark of 1531. [see Z.D.M.G, 1934, p. 268]

While celebrated contemporaries of Sri Chaitanya, namely, Kabikarnapur and Gopalguru cannot be cheaply disposed of, one must admit to the imbroglio that afflicts one when Madhabendra is placed in the troupe of Maddhwa-disciples with the appellation of 'tirtha' appended to their names. The disconcerting fact remains that all Puri-title holders of the sixteenth century were not of the Shankar-community. The titles of Puri and Bharati were found outside that community too. Even some family men sported these decors of titles such

as Puri and Bharati. More enigmatic is the contention that Madhabendra with a Puri-title was admitted to Maddhwas who had tirtha-as their characteristic title.

It is, however, easy to raise questions like those mentioned above. But it is very difficult to suggest a solution in this tangled field of testing nomenclatures and titles as discerning marks of religious communities. Consider for once the puzzling fact that one of Adwaita's sires had indeed the selfsame title of Puri. To be precise, the ancestor of Adwaita, in question was Sakutinath Puri. This brings us back to the overwhelming question after we seem to have finished our tedious argument. We are confronted once again by the question whether we should at all brand one as a member of a religious community according as one's name ends in the suffix Puri or tirtha. It seems we should not, since we have come to know that philistines, domesticated family men and even others often amused themselves with these suffices of spiritual soupcon. It is very misleading, then, to regard Puri or similar name-endings as marks of one's religious or sectarian affiliation. [The verse in Sanskrit, which has been quoted from the 'Prantoshinitantra' by Dr. Majumdar would write finis on the polemics and force the conclusion suggested above.] The said verse purports to :

> Whoever of Truth and Divine's steadfastly aware
> Will Pass for one to whom as a 'Puri' they refer.
>
> —*Prantoshinitantra*

Thus spirituals greats may be Puris irrespective of their community brands.

It is a plausible conjecture that Madhabendra changed his religious sect once or more than once. Parallel examples are provided by later Sadhaks, Bijoykrishna Goswami and Brahmabandhab Upadhyay. It is possible that like Brahmabandhab, who retained his Hindu name even after he was a christian proselyte, Madhabendra too retained the Puri-title

even after he changed his sect. Madhabendra later deplored the want of the cult of love inside the Madhwa camp as we may presume for rationalizing his being a recreant to his old school. Some such situational exigency could understandably call for a new school as founded by himself.

Radhakrishna Basu, the chairman of the Rashbehari Math of Cuttack established in 1335 B.S. the important point of difference between the means as also the ends of vaishnaba of Gour and the Maddhwas. (vide The Birbhumi, 1335 B.S., 9/4, pp. 188-189). It is for reasons of such difference that Kabikarnapur offers an apparently intriguing solution, declaring that Madhabendra Puri, who belonged in his view to the Guru lineage of the Maddhwas introduced nevertheless innovative principles from inside that community. (Note, however, that Kabikarnapur's notion of Madhabendra as the fifteenth Guru is in conflict with the authentic Guru list of the Udipimath where one finds the name of Vedavyaastirtha as the fifteenth Guru).

Srijib and Krishnadas Kaviraj deny that Sri Chaitanya belonged to the Maddhwa community at all. While SriJib describes Sri Chaitanya to belong to a community of his own make as asserted in the exordium to the Kramasandarva by SriJib, Kaviraj Goswami has dilated on the comparative features of Sri Chaitanya's path and the path of the Maddhwa community of Udipi. (2/9/249-51). According to him, one Maddhwa preceptor himself avers : 'Fivefold liberation ensures a place in Baikuntha.' This assertion purports to the objective-enunciation or the end in view of the Maddhwas. (vide Kaviraj's text, 2/9/239).

There is one more difficulty here. The view of the Maddhwa Guru of the Udipimath seems to be more given to monistic realization than the doctrine one finds in Padmanabha's 'Maddhwa-Siddhanta'. The latter authority is quite permissive toward one's enjoying pleasures available in course of Sadhana.

That these beatitudes are far from the peak of the realization of the Divine is stated categorically nevertheless. Dr. Ghate contends that even after liberation one remains distinct from the Brahman. (see 'The Vedanta' by Dr. Ghate.) [The author, Dr. Majumdar, is not prepared to accept the position that the Udipimath Chief was ignorant of the tenets of his own community. He thinks that Krishnadas Kaviraj has not written the account in question with a meticulous care.]

The conclusive remark

It follows that Madhabendra Puri had allegiance to the Maddhwas at least for a period, as otherwise Sri Chaitanya's contemporaries—Kabikarnapur and Gopal Guru, for instance—would not write of him in the manner they did. The Vaishnab Community would not, in any case, accept the view if it was purely fanciful. Neither does SriJib categorically refute the view. The reason why SriJib called Bengal Vaishnabs the Madhab-community rather than the Maddhwa community is that he stressed the disagreement between the love-cult of Madhabendra and the one which had been advocated by Maddhwas. [The author, Dr. Majumdar considers such a stand point quite realistic.]

Preconizing Sri Chaitanya's divinity

A. His Godward emotion

It is known from Murari Gupta's 'Karchaa' that Sri Chaitanya manifested right from his childhood preternatural features of an apocalyptic nature. While in this poise, he would be giving diverse pieces of advice. The verses 1/8/2-3 of the said reference explain in lucid Sanskrit the naissance of such extraordinary phenomena. We give the gist of the verses here below :

> Lord's name any of these may intromit
> Into heart's grotto and repose :

A word, an introit or a thing like it
To awaken the soul perforce

—Murari Gupta, Karcha, 1/8/2-3

[Even the Kirtan may awaken the soul. One whose soul is awakened is a true child of the Lord. Spiritual feats are native to one such.]

It is of interest that Kabikarnapur, who closely followed Murari till chapter II of his Sri Chaitanya biography (also in Sanskrit), did not try to explain away the mysterious apocalypse referred to above. It follows, he regarded it as a divine manifestation and hence inscrutable. To give a rational explanation of what the Divine performs is blasphemous in the eye of a devotee. Later devotees also wrote about Sri Chaitanya's supernal powers which were exhibited even in his childhood. But they did not intrude upon the sacrosanct genesis of the phenomenon. All of them maintained a respectful silence about its rhyme or reason. They believed in his innate divinity and depicted the inspired child as one with inborn divinity.

[The argument in above is merely problematic: the conclusion that those who refrained from explaining child Sri Chaitanya's supernatural gift took his divinity for granted is not necessary either. The logical form of the argument is this : 1) If they considered the child a God, they would refrain from explaining his Godliness. 2) They refrained indeed. 3) Therefore, they considered him a God. Evidently, it violates the logic of modues ponens. In fact from 'If P, then Q and P', Q does not follow necessarily. More concretely, the rain makes the road wet always but a wet road does not always presuppose rain, since the hose pipe may wet the road as well.]

The parenthetic remark in above would show why Dr. Majumdar does not infer from People's 'respectful silence' the judgement that they regarded the child as the Divine. Indeed some might regard him so. But we cannot confirm it. Therefore, Dr. Majumdar says that Biswambhar didnot pass for

a God till he was over 23. In fact, a comparative study of Sri Chaitanya's biographies and the 'Padas' would compel some such conclusion. [Let us reassert that there is no contradiction between the previous contention and the present conclusion. Previously, Dr. Majumdar said, 'Perhaps their silence sprang from their awe of the child-God'. Now he says that we do not know it for certain that there is any explicit recognition of Bishwambar's divinity till after he crossed 23. The first statement was hypothetical and the second categorical.]

But then, the process started when Biswambhar was met by Tairthik Brahman and Digbijayee, as Brindabandas notes in his biographical work. Yet these are isolated examples of specially gifted individuals, who had the apercu to assess spiritual grades. The general and wide-spread acknowledgement to this effect was round the corner but still intangible. This is amply clear from the following two distichs in Brindabandas's text.

1. No human so wise has ever been
   It's a pity he adores no divine.

   —Sri Chaitanya Bhagbat, 1/8/83

2. Eluding Krishna you waste your time
   Doing the teaching in a daylong chime.

   —Sri Chaitanya Bhagbat, 1/8/91-Quoted as Sri Bas's advice to Biswambhar

Since Murari Gupta gives no evidence of Biswambhar being acknowledged as a divine being prior to his being 23, we suppose Brindabandas's contention as embodied by the above quotes is valid. Historically too, such a thesis is plausible, since it was only after he returned from Gaya that he revealed his devotional turn and even indications of a divine consciousness. In Basu Ghosh's Pada and in Jayananda's Chaitanya Mangal he has been described as a bhakta right from his boyhood. This is historically and psychologically untenable as a conjecture. [The translator adds that it is not psychologically absurd for a boy to have bhakti and turn an

agnostic scholar in youth. Several examples would confute Dr. Majumdar's premise. Even if there be solid empirical evidence to contradict Basu Ghosh and Jayananda, it would be an illicit generalization to rule out the chance categorically. The *a priori* assertion itself is a paralogism here. Of course, Jayananda and Basu Ghosh can be contradicted in part, because there is evidence of Sri Chaitanya's agnosticism in adolescence and early youth. So it is an overstatement to say, as they do, that he was a bhakta right from his boyhood days. As far as childhood is concerned it will be better to withhold judgement amidst a veritable welter of conflicting data.]

There remained no doubt about his intention once he came back from Gaya where Iswarpuri had given him initiation. The coterie of devotees of Nabadwip, who had so long found Nemai Pandit so insolent, were flummoxed by a changed Nemai. He is now seen engrossed in bhakti. In the words of Murari Gupta too one gets a glimpse of his rapturous passion for God. We translate now his verses in Sanskrit to depict his state after the initiation :

> Hearing perchance a hymn's sound,
> Now he drops prostrate on ground,
> Now his limbs tremulous go.
> Body rollicks as he croones the hymn even so.
>
> —*Murari, Karcha, 2/1/25-26*

The group of devotees accepted him effusively. Sribas's house turned into a house of devotional songs and accompanying dances. Going by Murari Gupta's testimony, one would regard Bishnupriya Debi as the first person to declare his divinity. This revealing remark on her husband's Avatarhood was made by Bishnupriya Debi in reply to his laments for the delay in his achieving bhakti for Hari. Murari's verse in Sanskrit concerning the above episode purports to what follows :

Thou art an integral part
Of Hari on this our earth.
Thou hast incarnated to inculcate
Devotion in men—ye shall spread
The Lord's name through the introit
As Kali epoch's universal prophet.

—*Murari, Karcha, 1/2/7-10*

Lochan also describes the episode *mutatis mutandis*. Yet one easily sees that it is a Pastiche based on the idea expressed by Murari. Bishnupriya Debi and Lochan have a difference nevertheless. As Sri Chaitanya sorrows for his lack of bhakti, his accomplished wife corrects him saying that he is Hari's part himself and his bhakti is merely a matter of self-consciousness. Lochan's assessment differs in degree, though not in kind from Bishnupriya Debi's. According to Lochan, Sri Chaitanya is one with Hari, not merely a part of Him.

[It is of interest to note that the author, who scouts the Lochan thesis, regards Bishnupriya Debi's assertion of Sri Chaitanya's Avatarhood as a kind of legitimate consolation given to her husband by a wife. If Lochan be dismissed and if Bishnupriya Debi be a comforter of a sort, Sri Chaitanya's Avatarhood becomes vacuous. The translator re-iterates that scholastic analysis of mysticism and spirituality must be taken *cum grano salis*. This is not to detract from the merit of painstaking survey of the outer life of a mystic, which one gets in the works of materialistic scholars. But Dr. Majumdar is frank about his skeptic attitude to spirituality in all its aspects. Like all agnostics he also admires Lord Chaitanya because of his simplicity and goodness. In fact, the present author is a humanist. To him Avatarhood is misty, and Lochan's reference to the 'Voice from Above' heard by a clairvoyant Biswambhar is preposterous. He is prepared to accept a wife's solicitousness for her husband and may exonerate her even when she consoles her husband, calling him a part of Hari. But he won't brook

any superconscient hint in a man's life. A man's religiosity must be judged, as rationalists demand, in terms of his moral virtues alone, spirituality being fuzzy and non-apodictic. A materialist critique of a spiritual giant—this is what the present author offers. The reader will, hopefully, bear with the emendments introduced at various points by the translator who believes that Lord Chaitanya is adored not as a conventional moralist but as a uniquely unconventional spiritualist, who founded a new cult and school of Sadhana through devotional love.]

There are reports which are designed to eqate Sri Chaitanya with Vishnu who incarnated in ten forms including the form of the boar. Murari speaks of Sri Chaitanya's boar poise which he assumed in Murari's own residence and afterwards in Adwaita's too. Miracles magnify their strangeness through successive reportings. The above miraculous feats drew curious devotees from various places. Narahari from Srikhanda and Jagadananda from Kumarhatta were among them. These men and also Khanakul's Aviramdas and Kulingram's Ramananda Basu arrived at Nabadwip about the same time that saw Nityananda reach there. In fact, these persons are not mentioned in any Pada or biography in connection with any event prior to the above incident. In any case, the number of Srichaitanya devotees went on increasing forevermore.

B. Worship of Sri Chaitanya as the Divine by the devotees

Nityananda Pravu had travelled widely, visiting most pilgrimages of Bharat and contacting many saints and sages before he arrived at Nabadwip. He perceived by his feeling-tone, which has been enriched further by his motley experience, the spirituality embodied by Sri Chaitanya has simply nonpareil. Murari Gupta describes how Nityananda beheld the strange spectacle of the hexamanual form of Sri Chaitanya (vide Murari, loc.cit. 2/8/27). Thereafter Sribas called in

Adwaita from Shantipur to Nabadwip. The Godward ecstasy of Biswambhar was on the crescendo. It so happened that one day Sri Chaitanya took his seat on the altar, meant for the deity, of Sribas's house. Murari, Lochan, Kabikarnapur—all of them have described the incident in their respective texts. Worshipping Sri Chaitanya followed this incident, which never preceded it.

This was, infact, the first phase of preconization of Sri Chaitanya's divinity. A notable incident of this period is Adwaita's worship of Sri Chaitanya by an offering of basil leaves.

C. The Coronation of Sri Chaitanya as a Divine

The rituals connected with the solemnization of the Avatarhood in the eye of the devotee were devoid of festive pageant but sublimated by the sincerity of bhakti of each devotee. Murari describes this celebration of Sri Chaitanya being acclaimed as a divine being. But Brindabandas describes it in detail. According to Murari, Biswambhar manifested some supernatural traits and uttered in an ecstatic mood, 'Take this body for the supreme Lord of existence, consciousness and bliss'. As he uttered these words in an ecstatic state, his corporal sheath 'dazzled with the glow of a thousand Suns, as Murari records.

To the devotees present it was an exhilerating sight. Sribas conducted the ablution of the god-man and worshipped him. Nityananda held aloft the umbrella to shield Biswambhar from the scorching Sun; some began to cool his person by fluttering a fan manually while another devotee—Gadadhar—was seen to put betel leaf into his mouth in due deference. Murari and Lochan describe hereafter the devotees' introit (i.e. Sankirtan) that followed. (vide Murari, loc.cit. 2/12/12-17; Lochan, loc-cit., Madhya). Murari is, however, noncommittal on the duration of the ecstatic mood of Biswambhar on this day of his

coronation (as a God-Incarnate). According to Brindabandas the trance lasted twenty-one hours (i.e. seven prahars).

In terms of the verses of the *Chaitanya Bhagbat* :

> The wonted servitor poise now begone,
> As he sits on Vishnu's stead today,
> Not unawares as he sat ever and anon
> Indeed so he reposes now that they say—
> A conscious act, a wilful poise, we see
> And seven prahars in trance spends he
> Next comes the fiat from him
> Sing for my coronation a hymn.

The cited reference next describes how Nityananda poured water on Biswambhar's head while Sribas *et al* recited the Vedic mantra known as Purushsukta. The Dasakshar Gopal mantra was canted while they worshipped him.

—*(Chaitanya Bhagbat, 2/9/220)*

Kabikarnapur in his Mahakabya speaks of the trance as a matter of eleven prahars or thirty-three hours. Kabikarnapur provides a curious report that Biswambhar graced his own mother by placing his feet on her head, which made his mother, Sachidebi dance in joy. The trance had been sustained for fifty-four hours according to the text, Sri Chaitanya Chandroday. [Vide 1/63, Berhampur (Baharampur) edition].

A pada (with the poet's name given as Gobindamadhab Basu) refers to the incident of Biswambhar's mother herself kindling flames in worship of her son. She is said to have visited her son during his trance. Malini was her companion.

It is known from the Sri Chaitanya biographies as also from the devotional verses (i.e. padas) due to his contemporaries that the following devotees were present on the day when Sri Chaitanya's Avatarhood was acknowledged for the first time : Adwaita, Nityananda, Haridas, Gadadhar, Sribas, Sriram, Sripati, Srinidhi, Gobinda Ghosh, Madhab Ghosh, Baasu Ghosh, Narahari Sarkar, Mukunda, Jagadish, Narayan Gupta,

Gobindananda, Bakreshwar, Sridhar, Murari Gupta, Sachidebi, Malini, Narayani and Dukhi. Kabikarnapur in his 'Mahakabya' points to the presence of some more women than given above. They were wives of Brahmins. Of the said devotees quite many were older than Biswambhar and also well-versed in the doctrine of Bhakti. It was a motley crowd of experts. Yet they worshipped Biswambhar tout ensemble, canting the vedic mantra of purushsukta and Gopalmantra. The testimony of the eye-witness confirms the above account.

The acceptance of the divinity of a young man between 23 and 24, coming as it did from erudite devotees of an advanced age-group, is its convincing proof itself. In the circle Biswambhar came to be worshipped as a divine being. But this feature, which was an immediate after math of the coronation celebration, was still somewhat esoteric. The preconizing of his divinity before the public at large was yet to occur.

The Preconization of Sri Chaitanya's divinity

It was only a few months after the said coronation festival that Biswambhar Misra took initiation in Sannyas (i.e. ascetic monkhood) and became known as Sri Krishna Chaitanya. There are reports of spells of ecstatic trance occurring since his boyhood days. But nothing of the kind is known after he became an ascetic monk. In this period he was rather engrossed in the pang of separation from Sri Krishna. There are, however, stray reports of some fortunate devotees who beheld his tetramanual or hexamanual figure. Yet he would feel embarrassed, and even angry, if some devotee called him divine.

In Brindabandas's verse occur the lines which mean :

> Pravu's invariant poise seems tailor-made
> Of a mere servitor of God—he forbade
> Others call him anything else

Than Krishna's slave; hence
None dared to call him a God in any case.

—*Chaitanya Bhagbat, 3/10/506*

Brindabandas however gives a dissentious report as well. He speaks of Adwaita's recital of Sri Krishna Chaitanya hymn on the day of Rathajatra festival, which was held at Puri. His text itself describes it as follows :

Hearken, come tout ensemble to sing
Lord Sri Chaitanya's hymn.
Let's exclude other gods and think
Of him alone as our dear divine

—*Ibid*

Brindabandas goes on to describe next the quaint incident that the Lord himself came and heard the recusant devotees sing lyrics in deference to Sri Chaitanya instead of to SriKrishna. He was shocked that his admirers would defy his express orders to refrain from deifying him. He even wanted them to explain their untoward conduct. The devotees came forward with the witty repartee : 'Can one hide the radiant Sun by one's Palm?' While they were confabulating as above, streams of devotees from far and wide vied with one another for having a glimpse of Sri Chaitanya. Having visited the Jagannath-icon, they all paced toward where their cynosure was. They began, thereafter, to sing a hymn, in chorus, which overtly pronounced the divinity of Sri Chaitanya. [Dr. Majumdar says, this pronouncement was tantamount to an official proclamation of Sri Chaitanya's divinity.] Conforming to this Brindabandas version, Kabikarnapur in his 'Sri Chaitanya Mahakabya' also refers to Gour-based bhaktas who sang the improvised Sri Chaitanya Kirtan on the occasion of their visit to Puri, coming as they did from Gour. [It will be recalled that the Kirtan is a devotional chorus, a hymn to Lord Krishna as per convention. The unconventional feature of the said kirtan by bhaktas from Gour was its supplanting the name

of Lord Krishna by the name of Lord Chaitanya.]

The distiche in question as given in the Mahakabya Purports to

> Besotted of Gouranga-Love did they
> Sing hymn to him and went gay.

It would appear from the above accounts that Adwaita had organized during one Rathjatra festival a squad of kirtan-singers, who sang in praise of the divinity of Sri Chaitanya and who comprised devotees from different parts of Bharat. In fact, the Rathjatra invariably attracted devotees from various regions of the country. It is presumed further that the devotees who had arrived at Puri from Gour and those who were Puri-based but made contact with the former throng had been the leaders of the said Sri Chaitanya-kirtan celebration. They have been enumerated by Murari and Brindabandas also. According to Murari's list, the team of devotees from Gour that took some leading rôle in the above celebration included the following persons :

1) Adwaita; 2-5) Four Sribas bros.; 6) Chandrasekhar, 7) Pundarik Vidyanidhi; 8) Gadadhar Pandit; 9) Bakreswar; 10) Pradyumna Brahmachari; 11) Haridas Thakur; 12) Dwija Haridas; 13) Basudeb Dutta; 14) Mukunda Dutta; 15) Sibananda Sen; 16) Gobinda Ghosh; 17) Bijay Lekhak; 18) Sadasib Pandit; 19) Purushottam Sanjay; 20) Sriman Pandit; 21) Nandan Acharya; 22) Suklambar Brahmachari; 23) Sridhar; 24) Gopinath Pandit; 25) Srigarbha Pandit; 26) Banamali Pandit; 27) Jagadish; 28) Hiranya; 29) Buddhimanta Khan; 30) Purandar Acharya; 31) Raghab Pandit; 32) Murari Gupta; 33) Gopinath Sinha; 34) Garur Pandit; 35) Narayan Pandit; 36) Damodar Pandit; 37) Raghunandan; 38) Mukunda; 39) Narahari; 40) Chiranjib Sidhanta; 41) Sulochan; 42) Ramananda Basu; 43) Satyaraj Khan; 44) Nityananda; 45) Gadadhar; 46) Paramananda Puri; 47) Sarbabhoum Bhattacharya; 48) Jagadananda Pandit; 49) Kasi Misra;

50) Swarup Damodar; 51) Shankar Pandit; 52) Kasiswar Goswami; 53) Bhagabanacharya; 54) Pradyumna Misra; 55) Parmananda Patra; 56) Ramananda Roy; 57) Gobinda Dwarpal; 58) Brahmananda Bharati; 59) Rup; 60) Sanatan; 61) Raghunathdas; 62) Raghunath Baidya; 63) Acchyutananda; 64) Narayan; 65) Sikhi Maity; 66) Baninath.

—*(Ref. Murari, 4/17)*

The list due to Brindabandas includes most of the above names. In fact the two lists show striking agreement. In murari's Karcha, Murari's own name is given as 'Baidyasinha Murarika'. The 'Chaitanya Bhagbat' has it as Baidyasinha Murari. But then, is it possible that Murari would himself flatter his pride by adding the epithet Baidyasinha to his own name? It is suspected, therefore, that someone might append it later to Murari's original list, taking the cue from the 'Chaitanya Bhagbat'. It is also noteworthy that the 'Bhaktiratnakar' quotes passim the treatment given in Murari's text (Ch. 4, up to section 10). For example we notice on p. 259 of the 'Bhaktiratnakar' the distich which is bodily taken over from Murari's text (4/10/1). It cannot, however, be vouched that Murari himself wrote the latter sixteen chapters following ch. 10. There is no way to confirm or infirm the genuineness of these chapters.

In any case, the list due to Brindabandas is not non authoritative either. Many of the enlisted devotees were poets, authors, true bhaktas and wise men. They spoke in one voice while they preconized—tout le monde—the Avatarhood of Sri Chaitanya. Sri Chaitanya came to be deified as a divine from then onwards. It was, fittingly, the time also when the system of Sri Chaitanya-introit was codified.

[It is inevitable that legends would gather round a spiritual luminary. While the above incontrovertible account speaks of the recognition of Biswambhar's divinity as a post-Sannyas affair when, incidentally, he

was known as Sri Chaitanya, hearsays had the uncritical laity believe that his divinity was innate and anticipated by his near ones even before his birth. There are, in the Mahabharata the tale of a Veda-canting nascent sage who had been in his mother's womb for 12 long years. All these are symbolic. One should not take them too literally. So the popular belief in the prenatal recognition of divinity being accorded to Biswambhar need not be taken seriously.]

It is, however, the case that devotees, who lived when Narahari Chakrabarty wrote the text of 'Bhaktiratnakar', had the impression that the cohort of Srî Chaitanya knew of his divinity when he was yet to be born. Therefore it is that in chapter 12 of the 'Bhaktiratnakar', there occurs an account of Sri Krishna Chaitanya kirtan at Sribas's residence at a time when Sri Chaitanya was still in Nabadwip. Narahari's verse-lines to this effect can be literally rendered into English as follows :

> Nityananda and Adwait—the twain revelled
> Introiting Chaitanya-hymn at Sribas-homestead,
> Where Murari, Sribas et al.
> Also thronged withal.

The inconsistency of Narahari's account is self-evident. He speaks of hymns sung in praise of SriKrishna Chaitanya as by a wilful anachronism, whereas the fact remains that during his Nabadwip Lila, Sri Chaitanya was known as Biswambhar. In fact, it was only later that he took the name of Sri Chaitanya, a name conferred on him on the occasion of his initiation to monkhood or Sannyas. It is obviously an absurd interpolation with no iota of truth in it.

[An excursus on Lila is in order. We, lesser mortal are bitterly serious about our doings in life. Sages understand that all living experience is a training of the soul in detached action and equanimity. The Avatar goes further. To him it is a joy of

play, a playful act exuding endless joy, since he has the wisdom to distil even misery over to delight. This playfulness is Lila. God Himself considers the entire creation His Lila.]

Sri Chaitanya's contemporaries such as Basu Ghosh and Murari never mention any such kirtan in the name of Biswambhar either. Clearly, the whole idea of acclaiming Sri Chaitanya as an Avatar was broached by Adwaita when Biswambhar had become known as Sannyasi Sri Chaitanya. It was during his Nilachal Lila that Adwaita and his friends preconized the divinity of Sri Chaitanya.

[So much about the factual background of the matter. But fancy is not fain to tether itself to fact. Popular belief soared high enough on pinions of fancy to escalate the above fact into a fiction of Adwaita having invoked the Avatar—Lord Chaitanya here on earth.]

Sri Chaitanya sent Nityananda to Gour for preaching the cult of devotional love in that region. Nityananda devoted himself to that task. In addition, he also propagated what he believed was as important, namely the divinity of Sri Chaitanya, the prophet of the cult. The shibboleth popularized by Nityananda itself aimed at equating love of Sri Chaitanya with love of God. The following English version of an excerpt from the Chaitanya Charitamrita would prove the point :

> All that is, is Chaitanya—cant his name,
> His devotee and my lifebreath are the same.
> Preaching likewise he did convert
> The captious and the mean too to Chaitanya cult.

We have given evidence of contemporaries of Sri Chaitanya themselves who regarded him as a divine being. Indeed our citations have all been from the writings of his contemporaries. If one contends even so that Sri Chaitanya's contemporaries did not regard him as a divine being, it must be due to their ignorance.

* * *

The Installation and Worship of the Chaitanya Image

Some of his devotees set up Sri Chaitanya statues and worshipped them as one worships a deity's image. This trend was noticed even when the Lord was very much in the land of the living. It Murari Gupta's Karcha, or to be specific, the fourteenth chapter thereof, be authentic, Bishnupriya Debi must be the pioneer of the movement. In Murari's book (see 4/14/8) there is a couple of distichs purporting to :

> 'Nearing his own Wife stood the Lord;
> Unfolding his innate Krishna Poise.
> Like Lakshmi, the deity, she worships as God
> The divine's living presence.'
>
> —*Murari Gupta.*

[The translator is skeptical about the above verse rendered into English. The original Sanskrit is terse, and cluttered by syntactic Inversion and semantic Trope. My verse should be taken *cum grano salis*, therefore.]

How is it that Murari is eloquently silent about the nature of the image? We are not told who constructed it and by what material. Was it a drawing by Bishnupriya Debi, or what? The verse cited by the author, Dr. Majumdar, is rather cryptic. Yet the author makes a cross reference to the image installed by Bishnupriya Debi. The Sculpture, Potter or the Painter—as the case may imply—is shrouded in mystery. Even granting that Bishnupriya Debi herself made an earthenware statuesque of the Lord, Murari makes no such insinuation to that effect either.

Almost concurrently with the above installation of Sri Chaitanya image, one Gouridas Pandit installed a Gour-Netai image. (see Murari, 4/14/12-14). One image of Sri Chaitanya is worshipped at Dhaka Dakshin of Srihatta by the descendants of Upendra Misra, the grandfather of Sri Chaitanya. It is said that it was installed in the year when Sri Chaitanya first joined the order of the Sannyasins, adopting monkhood. It is recorded

in one Pradyumna Misra's 'Sri Krishna Chaitanyodayabali', which is in Sanskrit, as also in its translated version, 'Manohsantoshini', that on adopting monkhood, Sri Chaitanya proceeded direct to Srihatta, starting from Shantipur. According to the said author, Sri Chaitanya had his own image set up, being prompted by the idea of the maintenance of the scions of his grandfather. All this is wild fancy, since Sri Chaitanya had rather moved on to Nilachal. All contemporary writers speak of his passage to Nilachal indeed. Dr. Mazumdar refers to his article in the 'Brahmavidya' (Baisakh, 1343 B.S.) wherein the spurious nature of the book, 'Sri Krishna Chaitanyodayabali' has been proved.

From a perusal of the 'Bhaktiratnakar', one finds allusion to the installation of Sri Gouranga Icon in three more places. Kashishwar Pandit set up a Sri Gouranga statue beside the one of Gobinda at Brindaban. It is reported that Sri Chaitanya gave his consent to its installation and also ate of the meal that was served. Narahari Sarkar installed an image of Sri Gouranga also. Raghunandan showed Narottam Thakur that statue at Srikhanda. On p. 555 of the Bhaktiratnakar there is a mention of Narottam visiting the statue. The exact verse-lines to that effect may be translated as

> 'He led Narottam to the holy spot
> Where stood the statuesque of Lord
> The visitor curtsies love befraught.'
>
> –*Bhaktiratnakar, p. 555*

Narottam also beheld at Katwa the Sri Gouranga image installed by Gadadhar Das, as described by the following cribbing of the verse on p. 556 of the same reference :

> 'Watching Gora's image that is the breath
> of Gadadhar's nostrils, this Narottam swayed
> In engrossing waves of a devotion impatient.'
>
> –*Ibid, p. 556*

It is, however, not known whether Narahari Sarkar and Gadadhar Das installed Sri Gouranga's statues in his lifetime.

There is, in any case a hearsay about Murari Gupta's practice of servicing the Lord's icon. At the base of the icon is inscribed Murari's name as well. Discovered at Birbhum, the same icon is now worshipped at Brindaban.

Years after Sri Chaitanya's departure from the land of the living, Narottam Thakur installed at Kheturi conjoint image of Sri Gouranga and Bishnupriya, to wit,

> 'Five icons of Lord Krishna, and Withal,
> of Sri Gouranga with Bishnupriya–he installed these all'.
> –*Ibid, p. 622*

Sri Chaitanya and Kirtan songs

The Kirtan occurs even in the Srimadbhagbat. It is known that the devotees of Alba in the deccan used to sing Kirtan songs. [Songs of Krishna-devotees usually of a dolorous tune are known as Kirtan songs or simply, Kirtan.] Haraprasad Shastri has established the fact that the Kirtan was in vogue among Later Buddhists (His contention has been elaborated upon in his book, 'Bouddha gan O donhaa'). In spite of its long history, the Kirtan has been made out to be the creation of Sri Chaitanya and Nityananda as evinced by the writing of Brindabandas who refers to each as the father of the Kirtan.

Srirup Goswami 'defines' the Kirtan as 'a loud recital of the name of the Lord along with his play (lila) and virtues or qualities (guna).' [This description does not satisfy the criterion, *per genus et differentium* and turns out to be a wide definition. That the Lord is Lord Krishna, is not explicit in Srirup's phraseology.] The indispensability of Lord Krishna in the matter is cryptically disclosed by the pithy epigam, 'There's no song without Kanu' [The epigram in its Bengali original reads–'Kanu bine geet nei'. Note that Kanu is a pet variant of Krishna.] Sri Jib Goswami's obscure 'definition' speaks of the chorus of joy as a defining feature of Srikrishna Kirtan. [A chorus of joy may be there in a veritable bacchanalia as well.

Yet SriJib makes a mention of Srikrishna as an inosculated half of the Portmanteau, 'SriKrishnakirtan'. Despite their putative pansophy, they are indifferent to linguistic precision as the present translator feels.] Now, Srirup has divided the Kirtan into three parts such as Namkirtan, Lilakirtan and Gunakirtan. [The three parts mentioned here refer to the name, the play and the quality of the Lord respectively. According to the standard acceptation of the term, 'play' means Lord's playful human rôle. 'Lila' is the technical term for this play-acting.]

Sri Chaitanya would join the troupe of his devotees in the recital of all three kinds of the Kirtan. [The lyric of a Kirtan could be name-based too as it could even be play-based or quality-based.] The name-based lyric, 'Haraye namah, Yadabaaya namah, etc.' was the one of the kind which was to be sung by Lord Chaitanya. But there is no explicit mention of his practice of singing the other name-based lyric–'Hare Krishna, Hare Krishna etc.', which, incidentally, comprises thirty-two characters, and which is considered a very sacrosanct Mahamantra. [By 'Mahamantra' is meant a pithy expression pregnant with tremendous spiritual power.] According to some devotees, however, the mere absence of a record of Sri Chaitanya's recital of the Mahamantra argues to some sacrilege involved in its recital. But, then, such a restrictive view seems to be beside the point for the following reasons :

1. In the compilation of Brahmandapuran distichs, which is due to Srirup Goswamy, there are some which can be recited aloud without taking a concurrent count of the characters. There is indeed a provision for such recital. (See slokas 54-60, Brahmandapuran, Uttarkhanda, Nandakumar Kaviratna version).
2. In the Invocation (i.e., the preamble) section of the 'Laghubhagbataamrita', Sri Rup has referred to widespread awakening of devotion among the people by the mystic impact of the Harinam (name of Lord Hari) as mouthed by

Sri Chaitanya. Srirup's hyperbolical verse, in question, can be cribbed as follows :

Canting Harekrishna the Lord conquered,
By engrossing Love, all men of the World.

This gives a lie to the contention that the HareKrishna mantra recital without the reckoning of the number of repetitions or its public recital are tabooed.

3. Besides, the all-day-long recital of the said mantra has long been in vogue. The custom of a daylong recital at Brindaban of that mantra at the death anniversaries of Gopal Bhatta Goswamy and Lokenath Goswamy has been admitted by the high priests of Radharaman-and Radhabinode-temples. (Vide Bhubaneswar Sadhu's 'Harinam Mangal', p. 52).
4. It is customary in every part of Bengal that the person in his last gasp is exposed to a conting of the Sacred name, HareKrishna. Nobody takes a count of the number of its repetitions. Relatives combine to din on the ears of the dying person the above sacred name.

But the modern author of 'Sankirtan Ritichintamani' contends nevertheless that the Kirtan i.e., the group recital of the said mantra militates against the teaching of Pravu, and, therefore, destroys one's Vaishnabism itself. Dr. Majumdar expresses his puzzlement at the alleged loss of Vaishnabism for canting the very name which it was the prime purpose of Lord Chaitanya to disseminate so much so that one may almost say that he incarnated with an identical purpose indeed.

Brindaban Das has presented us with the lyric of the song which was in fact Sri Chaitanya's first recital of the guno-kirtan (i.e., a recital of a song speaking of the qualities of Lord Krishna). The lines, in verse, of the Chaitanya Bhagbat (2/23/3-9), which describe the event and reproduces the lyric may be translated as

'My heart goes out to you as you hold
The violin'–this was the first Kirtan of the Lord,
Who danced while devotees song with rapture fraught'.

Sri Chaitanya Bhagbat records too the songs of Laments and of joy sung by the Lord (2/13/18-19; 3/10/65, 2/3/11). The said book also refers to Sri Chaitanya's participation in the lila-kirtan or the song on Lord Krishna's playful human acts. In what immediately follows is as translated version of a verse from the book, in question.

'Chandi's Vidya's and Roy's lyrical play
The Lord recites or follows night and day
Swarup and Ramananda emulating his way.

–Chaitanyacharitamrita (2/2)

Subsequently, Narottam Thakur innovated the tune of the Kirtan songs, which served to popularize them. (Vide Khagendranath Mitra's article in the Bharatbarsha, Bhadra, 1332 B.S. entitled 'Rasakirtan).

Sri Chaitanya's contemporary devotees

The Sri Chaitanya biographies by Kabikarnapur, Brindaban Das and Krishnadas Kaviraj give varying numbers of Sri Chaitanya devotees who were the Lord's contemporaries. Over 150 of them belonged directly to the Chaitanya sector. Again, quite a few dozens of devotees belonged to the Nityananda– and the Adwaita-branches. Even the Gadadhar branch, the leanest of all, accounts for 57 disciples as per Jadunath Das's reckoning. Dr. Majumdar's considered view makes it 490 all told.

The castewise break-up of the devotees

While Brahmins accounted for nearly a half of a total of 490 devotees, the artisans, craftsmen and the like had at most one member each in this pretty big throng. To be specific, 239 Brahmins, 29 Kayasthas, and 37 Vaidyas—the so-called higher-

caste devotees overwhelmingly out-numbered the lower-caste members. Notably, 1 iron-smith, 2 Muslims, 1 Parsee, 1 Rajput and 54 caste-forsaking monks were there among those devotees totalling 490. The above figures would give a lie to the canard that 'higher castes rejected Sri Chaitanya, his creed being only acceptable to the lower castes.' [Note that some of the 490 associates of Lord Chaitanya mentioned above were his admirers despite being his initiator to wit, Ishwarpuri.]

The monks among the Lord's cohort

Of the 54 monks, who were Sri Chaitanya's devotees, 20 were of the Puri sect, 8 were Thirthas, 4 Anandas and 3 Saraswatis, while Giris and Bharatis had 5 each among the throng of 54. Initiated by Ishwar Puri, Sri Chaitanya adopted monkhood from Keshab Bharati. Yet Tirthas and others received his grace too.

Scholarship and Poeticism of devotees

As many as 66 of the 490 devotees of Lord Chaitanya, who were coeval with the Lord, were writers, the ratio coming to some 13.5 per cent, therefore. Men of artistic taste—particularly those akin to cosmeticians and those given to dance and song—were aesthetically drawn to the Chaitanya cult. [It seems, the simplicity and the egalitarianism of the new cult, as distinct from the obscure and esoteric religion of the elitist, won the heart of these sensitive men of good taste.]

A list of the authors (with their works cited parenthetically) follows, the authors being Sri Chaitanya's devotees and admirers.

1. Ishwarpuri (SriKrishnaLilamrita) [not extant]

2. Kabikarnapur (Sri Chaitanyachandroday (play); Sri Chaitanya Charitamrita [epic]

Gourganoddeshdipika; Alankarkoustav; Aryashatak; Anandabrindabanchampu) [Note : Karnapur Kaviraj of the Srinibas Acharya branch is another person. The Bhaktiratnakar

eulogizes his verse as being very sensational.]

3. Kabichandra (Bhagbatamrita)

4. Kanai Khuntia (Mahabhabprakash) [The one extant copy is with an American tourist who took it from the author's scion.]

5. Gopal Guru [Numerous distichs, due to him, are incorporated in the 'Bhaktiratnakar. But Gopal Guru's text is not extant]

6. Gopal Bhatta (Haribhaktibilas; Krishnakarnamriter teekaa) [Srijib says at the outset of his 'Satsandarva' that Gopal Bhatta had written a book on philosophy.]

7. Gobinda Karmakar (Karcha) [The printed version of the Karcha is not quite genuine]

8. Jagannath Das (Oriya) (Oriya Bhagbat)

9. Balaram Das (Oriya) (Durgastuti; Tulavina, Bhaktirasamrita Sindu, Ramayan, etc. in Oriya)

10. Jayananda (Chaitanyamangal)

11. Sri Jib Goswamy (Incomplete Publication list given on pp. 59-61 of the 'Bhaktiratnakar)

12. Parmananda Puri (Gobinda Bijay, not extant)

13. Prabodhananda (Chaitanya Chandramrita; Brindaban-shatak)

14. Bishnupuri (Bhaktiratnabali) [Preceded Sri Chaitanya to some extent]

15. Brindabandas (Sri Chaitanya Bhagbat)

16. Raghunath Bhagbatacharya (Krishnapremtarangini)

17. Madhabacharya (Sri Krishnamangal)

18. Murari Gupta (Sri Krishnachaitanya Charitam (Karchaa)

19. Raghunath Das Goswami (Muktacharitra; Stabaabali; Daankeli-Chintamani)

20. Raghab Goswamy (Bhaktiratnaprakash)

21. Ramananda Roy (Jagannath Ballav Natak)

22. Sri Rup Goswamy (see the list on pp. 56-57 of the 'Bhaktiratnakar')

23. Lokenath (Bhagbater teeka)
24. Srinath (Bhagbater teeka)
25. Sanatan (see the list on p. 57 of the 'Bhaktiratnakar')
26. Sarbavoum (Saaraabali; Samaasbaad and such works on the Naya system)
27. Swarup Damodar (no extant work on the doctrine)
28. Narahari Sarkar (Sri Krishnabhajanamritam)

Besides these writers Bhagaban Nyayaachaarya, Vidyanidhi, Vidyabachaspati and other scholars became Sri Chaitanya's devotees. So it is seen that the Chaitanya cult enjoyed the acceptance of eximious scholars.

Residences of Sri Chaitanya's Entourage

The dwelling of each associate of Sri Chaitanya turned out to be a centre of preaching the Vaishnab cult. As of now these have all come to be regarded as the sites of pilgrimage. Nabadwip in Bengal, Puri in Utkal and Brindaban in the United Provinces flourished as the chief centres of preaching the Chaitanya cult.

A. Bengal

From the account of the birthplaces and residences of those devotees of Sri Chaitanya whereof we have been able to gather such informations, it is known that the leading ones of the said entourage lived in the districts of Nadia, Bardhaman, Hooghly, the 24-parganas and Jessore and preached the Chaitanya cult of love. Many of the devotees lived at Nabadwip and the neighbouring places like Bargaachhi, Dogaachhi, Mougaachhi, Fulia, Paharpur, Champahati, Saligram et cetera. It is surmised that Krishnadas, who was born in Bihar, settled in the village of Bargaachhi because he yearned so much for the company of Sri Chaitanya and Nityananda.

Fulia came to eminence in the Pre-Chaitanya era. A few leading associates of Sri Chaitanya were born here too. As Jaykrishna Das says, Sugrib Misra, Gobinda, Shibananda,

Kashishwar Misra, Jib Pandit and Tapan Acharya belonged to Fulia.

Adwaita lived in Shantipur where Mukunda Roy, Uddhaharan Dutta and Krishnananda were born each.

On either bank of the Ganga were the abodes of the Sri Chaitanya devotees; to wit, from Calcutta to Ranaghat along the EBR route and from Calcutta again to Guptipara along the EIR route were their dwellings. The centres of dissemination of Vaishnabism were situated at Barahanagar, Sukhchar, Panihati, Enredaha, Khardaha, Kanchanpally and Kumarhatta on one bank of the Ganga and also at Aaknaa, Mahesh, Taraa, Aatpur, Jirat and Guptipara on the other bank.

Kulingram, Kalna, Dainhat, Kulai, Katwa, SriKhanda and Belgaon in the district of Burdwan have acquired an immortal fame in the Vaishnab literature.

Although Ekchaka was the birthplace of Nityananda, Birbhum did not grow into a seat of Vaishnabism during Sri Chaitanya's lifetime. Some time after his withdrawal did places like Maynadal, Mangaldihi, Kandra grew as centres of the Kirtan recital and Vaishnabic discourse. No disciple's name has, however, been found in Bankura in Sri Chaitanya's time.

Bodhkhana, Joshra and Buran of Jessore came to be renowned as Sripat or a sacred site.

Gokulananda and Banamalidas Baidya were born at Ghoraghat in the district of Rajshahi. A male disciple of Sita with a female sobriquet, Nandini, lived near Natore (in the same district).

Rup Sanatan's residence was in Maldah. One Jangli, a male devotee who took initiation from Sita dwelt at Janglitota.

Kala Krishnadas's holy seat is situated at Sonatala in the district of Pabna. No evidence has, however, been received of any centre, which was set up in Sri Chaitanya's lifetime in Faridpur, Barisal, Mymensingh, Commilla, Noakhali, Bagura, Rangpur, Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri or Cochbehar.

Chattogram was the birth place of Pundarik Vidyanidhi, Basudeb Datta and Madhab Misra—the father of Gadadhar Pandit. Vaishnabism was adopted by quite many in Chattogram although it was not exactly popular there. Munsi Abdul Karim has traced many Vaishnab Punthis in Chattogram. [Note that a Punthi may often denote a manuscript or a hand-written book.] While no devotee of Tripura has come to lime-light, one notices an evidence of some devotees residing there if one peruses the book, 'Sri Chaitanya Bhagbat'. Besides there were men from the districts of Tripura, Chattogram, Srihatta and Dhaka who joined the Chaitanya-Kirtan at Puri on the occasion of the Rathajatra where Adwaita preconized the Avatarhood of Sri Chaitanya.

During the lifetime of Sri Chaitanya his cult was wide spread in the Rahr and Pundra regions. It is by virtue of the propaganda work of Adwaita, Nityananda, Gadadhar and the Goswamys of the Kabindra family that one can notice a predominance of Vaishnabism in East Bengal.

B. Assam

Adwaita's father and Sri Chaitanya's grandfather lived in Srihatta. Murari Gupta, Sribas, Chandrasekhar *et al.* were born in Srihatta. It would be overstatement to say that Srihatta-based men were the founders of the Vaishnabism of Gour. Yet Sri Chaitanya's religious doctrine was not to strike roots on Assamese soil during his own lifetime, Shankardeb's influence being an obstacle to its spread.

C. Utkal and other Provinces

Even a wise writer Haraprasad Shastri remarks that all of Sri Chaitanya-devotees were Bengalees. 'Himself a Bengali, his associates were all of the same nationality,' says H.P. Shastri (Vide JBORS, Vol. VI, pt. I, p. 62). The author, Dr. Majumdar, however, considers Shastri's appraisal logically untenable. Of the 490 associates of Sri Chaitanya on record, as many as 44

are Oriyas, some 10 Dravidians and 4 Rajputs. Three of them were of Maharastra, while there was one Gujrati and another—Gopal Sadipuria—of unknown origin. Obviously, the last mentioned person was also a non-Bengali. [About one in every eight of the Chaitanya entourage being a non-Bengali, Haraprasad Shastri's pejorative remark is to be taken *cum grano salis.*]

Some devotees born in Midnapore are branded Oriyas in the literature for the reason of portions of present-day Midnapore district having been within Orissa in the 16th century.

Puri being a site of pilgrimage of Hindus, in general, the fact that Sri Chaitanya was in Puri gave them the opportunity to receive his grace. On the other hand, Sri Chaitanya's Dravidian devotees of Brindaban did not so much as succeed in preaching his cult in the Dravidian belt.

* * *

Panchatattwa, Dwadash Gopal, Chusatti Mahanta et cetera

It is known from Kabikarnapur's 'Gourganoddeshdipika' that Swarup Damodar had decided that Sri Chaitanya, Adwaita, Nityananda, Gadadhar and Sribas represented the Five Principles. (9/12). It is not clear from Sanatan Goswamy's manner of Salutation in his preamble to 'Vaishnab Toshini', whether he acepted Damodar's Panchatattwa doxy. The order in which he mentions the luminaries to be saluted is apt to besot the reader who therefore fails to see through his attitude to Damodar's Panchatattwa. Beginning as one must with a salutation to Sri Chaitanya, he then does his obeisance, in writing, to Madhabendra Puri, Sridhar Swami, Sarbavoum Bhattacharya, Vidyabachaspati, Vidyabhusan, Parmananda Bhattacharya, Ramchandra and Banibilas. It is only after saluting all these Vaishnab leaders that he remembers the quintet, in question, excepting Sri Chaitanya whom he had

saluted at the outset. In the hierarchy ordained by sanatan, then, Adwaita, Nityananda, Sribas Gadadhar are lower than even Banibilas.

Lochan, on the other hand, treats Narahari on the same footing with the Big Five.

The Six Goswamys

Krishnadas does his curtsy, in writing, to the six Goswamys consisting as they did of Srirup-Sanatan-Bhatta Raghunath-Srijib-Gopal Bhatta-Das Raghunath-Srinibas Acharya composed in Sanskrit the 'Gunalesh Suchakam' to laud these six. These Goswamys were pivotal to Vaishnabism in Brinadaban. Excepting the lone Goswami, Raghunath Bhatta, the other five of the group were famed authors each. Raghunath Bhatta's strong point was his recital of the Bhagbat. Three among these six Goswamys happened to be sons or nephews of Sri Chaitanya's devotees Sri Jib, for one, was the nephew of Rup-Sanatan. Also, Raghunath Bhatta was Tapan Misra's son, while Gopal Bhatta was Prabodhananda's nephew.

There is no mention of the term 'Six Goswamys' in any standard Vaishnabic works written before Krishnadas's 'Sri Chaitanyacharitamrita'. Only Rup-Sanatan could be seen mentioned in Brindabandas' 'Sri Chaitanya Bhagbat'. But there is nothing of the kind in Murari's 'Karcha' and Kapikarnapur's 'Chaitanya Charitamrita Mahakabya'.

In Chaitanyamangal by Jayananda one finds the names, Rup-Sanatan, which is marred by an error of interpreting the Parsi term, 'Dabirkhas'. It is a compound term meaning 'Private Secretary'. Jayananda knew no Parsi, and erred in dividing the composite term into two and ascribing one each to Rup and Sanatan separately, rendering the resulting nomenclature—Rup Dabir' and Sanatan Khas—utterly inane.

All six Goswamys find mention, however, in the book, 'Gourganoddeshdipika' by Kabikarnapur, who had expunged

them from his earlier work, 'Chaitanyacharitamrita Mahakabya'. Even so the term 'Six Goswamys' is conspicuous by its absence, all six are separately mentioned albeit. It seems, the term was not extant even as late as 1576 A.D.

The twelve Gopals

Who are those to make for the twelve Gopals? Unfortunately, the answer is not unanimous. The term 'Dwadash Gopal' or 'twelve Gopals' was never to occur prior to Lochan's account thereof in his 'Chaitanyamangal'. Curiously, Lochan himself explicitly enumerates just eight of them comprising Ramdas, Gouridas, Sundar, Krishnadas, Uddhaharan Datta *et al.*

The 'Gourganoddeshdipika' mentions fifteen Gopals. Of these seven are not controverted by any authority. These privileged seven heads are : Abhiram, Sundar, Dhananjay, Gouridas, Kamalakar Pippalaayee, Uddhaharan Datta and Mahesh Pandit. who are the other five men? There is a lot of controversy in this matter. Different texts speak differently on this vexed issue. [These being of scant import on a Chaitanya biography, we leave out the details of the controversy and present the final outcome of all arguments in Dr. Majumdar's manner.]

On P. 334 of the 'Vaishnabachardarpan' and on p. 1338 of the 'Brihadbhaktisar' twelve upagopals have been mentioned. They include such personages as Halayudh of Nabadwip, Rudra Pandit of Ballavpur, Mukundananda Pandit of Nabadwip, Kashishwar Pandit of Ballavpur *et al.* Dr. Majumdar sums up the Gopal—not upagopal—issue, saying that the first twelve from Kabikarnapur's list of fifteen may be chosen for the purpose of healing the protracted quarrel.

The Sixty-four Mahantas

Vaishnabs of our times follow a custom of offering food (served in an earthenware basin) in memory of the sixty-four

Mahantas each. Some cheap booklet of the colportage genre priced at Five pice is the source-book of necessary informations regarding the names etc. of the Mahantas concerned. The list published in such a manner naturally bristles with mistakes. To take an example of its grossness, Dr. Majaumdar cites its list of the Six Goswamys. the list gives eight names and calls these eight persons the so-called six Goswamys. [Mahaanta is a corrupt form of Mahanta, which means the head of a temple or an Ashram.]

In the Brihatbhaktitattwasar the names of the sixty-four(?) Mahantas have been recorded as follows :

The eight chiefs : The heads of the Mahantas are : Swarup Damodar, Roy Ramananda, Sen Shibananda, Ramananda Basu,, Madhab Ghosh, Gobinda Thakur, Gobinda Ghosh and Basu Ghosh. To the laevo-eastern side of the eight chiefs are the sixty-four Mahantas.

Swarup's entourage : Chandrasekhar Acharya, Ratnagarva Thakur, Gobinda Garur, Mukunda Datta, Damodar Pandit, Krishnadas Thakur and Krishnananda Thakur.

Ramananda Roy's cohort : Madhabacharya, Nilambar Thakur, Ramchandra Datta, Basudeb Datta, Nandanacharya, Shankar Thakur, Sudarshan Thakur and Subuddhi Mitra.

Shibananda Sen's associates : Sriram Pandit, Jagannath Das, Jagadish Pandit, Sadashib Kaviraj, Roy Mukunda, Purandaracharya and Narayan Bachaspati.

Basu Ramananda's company : Madhu Pandit, Makaradhwaj Kar, Dwija Raghunath, Bishnu Das, Purandar Misra, Gobindacharya, Parmananda Gupta and Balaram Das.

Madhab Ghosh's group : Makaradhwaj Sen, Bidyabachaspati, Gobinda Thakur, Kabikarnapur, Srikanta Thakur, Madhab Pandit, Prabodhananda Saraswati and Balabhadra Bhattacharya.

Gobinda Thakur's associates : Kashi Misra, Sikhima Hati, Kalidas, Sriman Pandit, Kabichandra Thakur, Hiranyagarbha,

Jagannath Sen and Dwija Pitambar.

Gobinda Ghosh's group : Paramananda Gupta, Ballav Thakur, Jagadish Thakur, Banamali Das, Srinidhi Pandit, Lakshmanacharya and Purushottam Pandit.

Basu Ghosh's company : Raghab Pandit, Rudra Pandit, Makaradhwaj Pandit, Kongsari Sen, Jib Pandit, Mukunda Kaviraj, Chhota Haridas and Kabicharandra Acharya.

The division of the Mahanta table into octets, and the occurrence of names of three Makaradhwajas, who are nowhere mentioned in the standard Vaishnab literature and the doubtful alignment of Madhab Ghosh with Prabodhananda Sarswati—all these are somewhat quizzical. But the editor of the 'Brihatbhaktitattwasar'—Mr. Radhanath Kabasi—does not allude to the source material of what is broached.

Narahari Chakraborty in his 'Bhaktiratnakar' mentions sixty-four Mahantas by way of describing the Katwa Mahotsab. [Mahotsab is a great festival.] The Mahantas in Narahari's enumeration are :

1) Pravupriya Sripati 2) Srinidhi 3) Vidyananda 4) Baninath Basu 5) Ramdas Kabichandra 6) Purushottam Sanjoy 7) Sri Chandrasekhar 8) Sri Madhabacharya 9) Kirtaniya Sasthidhar 10) Srikamalakanta 11) Baninath 12) Bishnudas 13) Nanda Pandit 14) Purandar 15) Sri Chaitanyadas 16) Karnapur 17) Sri Janakinath 18) Sri Gopal Acharya 19) Gopal Das 20) Murari 21) Raghunath Baidya Upadhyay 22) Narayan 23) Balaramdas 24) Das Sanatan 25) Biprakrishnadas 26) Sri Nakri 27) Manohar 28) Harihara nanda 29) Sri Madhab 30) Mahidhar 31) Ramchandra Kaviraj 32) Basanta 33) Labani 34) Sri Kanu Thakur 35) Sri Gokul Gunamoni 36) Sri Madhabacharya 37) Ram Sen 38) Damodar 39) Jnandas 40) Nartak Gopal 41) Pitambar 42) Kumud 43) Gourangadas 44) Nrisinha 45) Brindabandas 46) Banamalidas 47) Bholanath 48) Sri Bijoy 49) Hridaynath Sen 50) Lokenath Pandit 51) Sri Pandit Murari 52) Sri Kanu Pandit 53) Haridas Brahmachari 54) Anantadas

55) Krishnadas 56) Janardan 57) Narayandas 58) Bhagbatacharya 59) Baninath Brahmachari 60) Chaitanyaballavdas 61) Sri Puspa Gopal 62) Sri Gopaldas 63) Sri Harsha 64) Sri Lakshminathdas.

[The list occurs on pp. 588-89 of Narahari's book where it is stated, however, that 'their name is legion, there being no end to the Mahantas'. The serialling done above is according to the numeration by superscripts following the names as preferred by Dr. Majumdar. The superscript placed just after the name proper and before the epithets (indulged by Narahari for the sake of rhyming) has enabled the translator to isolate the name-part. The inconvenient (though useful) superscript has been replaced by normal ordering notation by means of prefixed cardinals.]

Kabikarnapur in his 'Gourganoddeshdipika' observes that the entourage of Sri Chaitanya, Nityananda and Adwaita could be called Mahantas. Kabikarnapur adds that the Nabadwip Lila associates were Mahattam while those who were in Lord's company at Nilachal are Mahattara, the deccan cohort being just Mahantas. Kabikarnapur also cites the parallel opinion of Swarup Damodar. It follows, then, that, Mahantas can be easily identified. The names of the Panchatattwa, Adwaita, Nityananda, Sribas and Gadadhar are to be excluded from Dr. Majumdar's list of 490 devotees. The rest of the list are Mahantas each. To fix the number at 64 militates against the doyens of the Vaishnaba community like Swarup-Damodar and Kabikarnapur. The two senior Mahantas of Nabadwip had told Dr. Majumdar that they never gave food-offerings to the so-called 64 Mahantas.

Sri Chaitanya-Puja formalities

Obviously, Sri Chaitanya Worship cannot be held arbitrarily. The specific procedure dictated by Narahari Sarkar and jotted down by his disciple, Lokenath Acharya are incorporated in the

book, 'Sri Bhaktichandrika'. The highly prescriptive law of worship requires one to worship Basudeb Datta and Shibananda Sen as well. Their positions on the altar of Sri Chaitanya-Worship are to its right and left. Outside the hexagonal site of worship are others to be worshipped. To be precise, Nityananda, Adwaita, Murari, Sribas, Madhabendra Puri, among others, are to be worshipped. The list is long. Some other aspect of the Puja-site is for the worship of Ballav, Jagadananda, Mukunda, Raghunandan and others. Yet another group to be worshipped includes Jnanananda, Basudeb Ghosh *et al.* The reason why these associates and devotees are to be worshipped has been clearly stated also. Some had seen Lord Chaitanya while others were exemplary devotees.

Since even Narahari is included in the list of persons to be worshipped, it is unlikely that the book ordaining such worships should have anything to do with Narahari himself. Another suspect name—that of Jnanananda—raises questions about the said book.

The six chakrabarti's and eight Kavirajas

In the post Srinibas-Narottam period, vaishnabs gave currency to Six Chakrabarties and eight Kavirajas. Their names occur in the book, 'Karnananda'. The former group contains names of Gokuldas and Shyamdas while Sri Ramchandra, Gobinda, Karnapur and Nrisinha occur in the second list.

The diversity of Sri Chaitanya-associates' worship-procedures

Ishwarpuri was a worshipper of pleasure-principle. [See Gourganoddeshdipika, 23]. The Goswamys of Brindaban preached this form of worship. But many indeed of Sri Chaitanya's contemporary followers prefered the friendly mood of the worshipper or even the gesture of servitude. The filial bond of affection toward the Lord was also popular with some of them.

Those belonging to the Nityananda branch were given to the friendly approach to the object of worship. Gangadhar Das and Madhab Ghosh were given double membership of a sort. They counted as members of both the Sri Chaitanya branch and the Nityananda branch.

Adwaita advocated the gestures of servitude as also of friendliness while Rangapuri preached the affectionate approach to the object of worship. Men mentioned by Krishnadas Kaviraj as belonging to either branch were adherents of the path of pleasure. To them worship was a lovable and a pleasurable preoccupation. Kabikarnapur refers to this hedonism in the name of Sadhana as a trinity of 'a boy-friend, a girl-friend and a flower-spike'.

The Goswamy's of Brindaban indulged in the pathetic fallacy of considering themselves 'flower-spikes' or 'young shoots'. This fanciful stance was a cardinal point of their 'Sadhana'. The object of a male Sadhak [on this quaint view] was to be loyal to the female devotees or girl friends, since this loyalty to an attractive female was embellished as a stepping stone to Radhakrishna-bhakti.

[The doggerel quoted from Narottam Thakur's 'Prembhakti-Chandrika' is a fluffy stuff. The translator would only give its gist rather than crib the entire verse quoted by Dr. Majumdar. The reason for bowdlerizing the manifesto of dolice vita is self-evident.]

Narotam Thakur's verse in the book 'Prembhaktichandrika', 51-53, purports to eulogizing cupid's sport and service to eros as a pure form of devotional love. The Sadhak's penchant for close contact with his girl friend is only matched by his longing for cooling her by a fan and pushing into her enchanting mouth a leaf of betel! These acts and desires are marks of bhakti according to this hedonistic school of Vaishnabism.

Transvested males simulating females as a way of Sadhana are not mentioned by the Brindaban Goswamis. Even their

camp-followers—Srinibas-Narottam—have never referred to this bizarre variant of the Sadhana. It is on record nevertheless that two contemporaries of Sri Chaitanya, to wit, Nandaram Sinha and Jajneshwar Chakraborty, both disciples of Adwaita's wife, Sita Debi, assumed the female names of Nandini and Jangali to do the Sadhana of this antic form. The names of these two are found even in the 'Gourganoddeshdipika'. Besides, the lineage of discipleship with these two as the respective origins can be traced till date. The Head of the 'Samajbari' of Nabadwip does not belong to that lineage of Nandini-Jangali. Still, he is pursuing his Sadhana under a female garb and with a feminine name, 'Lalita-Sakhi'. Incidentally, the Samajbari was founded by Charandas Babaji.

Some of Sri Chaitanya's followers were Rama-Worshippers. Kabikarnapur's excursus on their method of Sadhana springs a surprise, pointing to a sort of isomorphic correspondence between Murari Gupta and Hanuman as between Ramchandra Puri and Bibhisan.

[Jnan or knowledge of the Spirit or Brahman and Bhakti or devotion to Lord Krishna were not incompatible to the Sannyasi disciples of Sri Chaitanya.]

Disciples of Sri Chaitanya, who were ascetics too, followed an eclectic principle that synthesized devotional love and spiritual knowledge. Their aim was the wise man's bhakti rather than a mere sentimentality in the name of devotion. Yet hearless and heady formularies of the way of exclusive knowledge were given a wide berth to. Kamdeb Nagar, the disciple of Adwaita was repudiated and even ostracized by the Vaishnab community Kamdeb's followers shared their Guru's fate too.

The fake Avatar

Whom Lord Chaitanya was being adored as an Avatar, the eclat and the acclaim that went with the recognition of his divinity

let loose the lust for fame in lesser mortals too. The unscrupulous skunks took a fancy to feign Avatarhood and batten their pride. Even these impostors managed to fox some numskulls, who became their disciples. Brindabandas's excoriating lampoon, maried at places by a Rabelaisian humour, reads :

All these fake-Avatarhood claims
Stem from pot-boiler's need and nothing else.
These sinners abjure the Krishna hymn
And enjoy songs on the fake Avatarhood theme.
One such pharisaical bloke, a rogue abides
In the belt of Rahr, who glibly misguides
Boobs, saying—'I'm Gopal, the divine'.
To wisdom he is a fox among the kine.

The title tangle

Confusing titles which obviated patronymics and surnamers of some of the illustrious associates of Sri Chaitanya, kinder one's attempt at discovering their identities. Thus Shatananda Khan's one son is named Bhagaban Acharya and the other Gopal Bhattacharya. Again Purushottamdas's son is called Kanu Thakur, while Purushottamdas's father is named Sadashib Kaviraj. Three different titles are there for the three generations. The Muslim Sultan conferred the title of Gunarajkhan on Maladhar Basu. The elder brother of Narahari Sarkar Thakur of Srihatta is known as Mukundadas.

Some of the facts mentioned above are due to the book, 'Sri Chaitanya Charitamrita'. There are similar examples of confusing surnames in the Sri Chaitanyabhagbat also. Thus Ratnagarbha Acharya's son is seen to bear the name of Jib Pandit. The Pandit-title implies a Brahmin as Dr. Majumdar assumes. Baidyas using the surname Datta were there. Basudeb Datta and Mukunda Datta are two such. Even Subarnabanik with a surname of Datta is possible. Uddhaharan Datta is a

case, in instance.

The descendants of Sri Chaitanya's entourage have recently been known for their change-over from Surnames of Chakrabarty, Chattopadhyay, Mukherjee, Basu or Sen to the unique title of Goswamy. Some of these Goswamys had some or other surname endmerated above till recently. Presumably, the right to subserve some temple or icon or even an adoption of a devotional calling may be the rationale of such title-switch.

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Appendix A
Worship of Vaishnabs and contemporary cohort of Sri Chaitanya

Vaishnab Bandana or Worship of Vaishnabs

Mr. Atulkrishna Goswamy has brought out a joint edition of two works on the worship of Vaishnabs. The works are : (1) Debakinandan Das's 'Vaishnab Bandana' in Bengali plus a dictionary in Sanskrit, 'Vaishnabaavidhan' and (2) one Brindaban Das's 'Vaishnab Bandana'. Srijib's 'Vaishnab Bandana' and the above texts are available in the Barahanagar Granthamandir. A number of other smaller volumes on Vaishnab Bandana are available also.

Materials of Sri Chaitanya biography as available from Vaishnab Bandana Texts

Some facts of Sri Chaitanya's life are only available from the said texts on Vaishnab Bandana. These facts are not to be found recorded in any of his written biographics. The religious life of Sri Chaitanya's cohort can be better understood from these texts. Some specific cases, in instance, are being cited here below : It is only from Srijib's Vaishnab Bandana that we know of the fact that all the sons of Adwaita excepting Achyutananda alone were shunned by a group of devotees. That Ananta Acharya's house was at Nabadwip and the fact that Uddhaharan Dutta was Nityananda's fellow pilgrim would not be known from any other source than these Vaishnab Bandana texts. The allusion to Gobinda Dwija as the composer of a song—'Pravu laagi manasik setubandha'—is made in some text of the kind but not elsewhere. [Incidentally, Gobinda Dwija's line quoted above can be translated as the mental bridge is due to the Lord Chaitanya'.] For the sake of brevity we avoid such niggling details as the story of jackals that assembled to listen to Parameshwar Das's kirtan song, or the

myth of oleander smelling as a Lotus owing the miracle-maker Purushottam Das. [Devotees who write eulogies of Sadhaks often resort to hyperbole. Much of Bandana text material is marred by this folly. To assess the authenticity of these Vaishnab Bandana texts one must examine them chronologically.]

Debakinandan's text being the most popular of the genre, we ought first to determine his own location in time. The Bhaktiratnakar has quotes from Debakinandan. In Manohar Das's 'Anuragballi' (1696), Purushottam is mentioned as Debaki's preceptor. Purushottam is acclaimed therein as the beloved of Niṭyananda. Debaki himself has mentioned Purushottam as his preceptor. It follows that Debakinandan wrote his books sometime in the sixteenth century. Incidentally, the sahitya Parishad library has in its repertoire no fewer than twenty-seven booklets of Vaishnab Bandana by Debakinandan. The oldest one of them, bearing the number 2084 is dated 1654 A.D. The said manuscript agrees in full with its printed version. But the epilogue makes a spurious ascription of the work to Krishnadas. So within thirtynine years after the publication of the 'Charitamrita' some trend was already there to attribute other authors' works to the illustrious Krishnadas.

Radhanath Kabasi has printed some lyrics in his 'Brihatbhakti tattwasar'. According to these 'Autobiographical' lyrics, one sees that Debakinandan had denounced the Vaishnabs as being so much like the laity. There is a confessional line also, which reads—'Me too had been tarred with the same brush'. In one verse, again, the writer says that his preceptor sent him to seek Sribas's forgiveness for some unmentioned offence against him. The writer adds that he was advised by Sribas to go and adore his own Guru, Purushottam.

The author, Dr. Majumdar, finds an echo of the Sri Chaitanya Bhagbat here. He does believe at all in the authenticity of the above payars (i.e. lyrics). His skepticism

arises from certain plausible considerations, which tend to suggest that the twenty-four payars, in question, might be Sri Chaitanya Bhagbat-based pastiche. In any case, Dr. Majumdar is of opinion that the payars have been incorporated in Debaki's works by an act of interpolation.

The crucial point here is a widely publicized report of a leper. The fellow being a detractor of Vaishnabs and inimical to Sribas contracted leprosy. Finally, Sri Chaitanya absolved him of the sin and cured his ailment. Dr. Majumdar says the payar maker is an ignoramus as otherwise he would not fancy Debaki himself as the leper. Even Brindaban Das has erred here in fixing the location of the above incident. Murari's text is more reliable, naturally. Krishnadas has sought to reconcile one view to the other. According to him, the victim was one Brahmin named Chapal. Also, the incident occurred at Nabadwip as Murari says. Brindabandas erroneously spoke of Shantipur instead. Polemics apart, it is evident that the victim of Sribas's spiritual wrath was not Debaki. The Payar's account is sheer romance. Krishnadas writes that chapal's offence against Sribas, which led to his contracting leprosy, was not exonerated by Sri Chaitanya when the afflicted sinner approached him for the first time. While withholding any forgiveness when he was at Nabadwip, Sri Chaitanya took pity on the sinner after he besought him to cure him for the second time. Sri Chaitanya, then a resident of Nilachal, forgave the sinner, which, *ipso facto*, cured him also. The unscrupulous writer of the spurious text of payars certainly perused no Vaishnab masterpiece other than the one by Brindabandas. In fact, Debakinandan is nowhere mentioned as the leper considered here above. Even when one appraises Debakinandan's prayers as mere pastiche's plagiarized from Srijib's 'Vaishnab Bandana', one sees its limitations even so. Infact, the translation itself is inaccurate.

Debakinandan's smaller book and the bigger one of 1719

Shakabda are essentially congruent. The pages beginning with Sri Chaitanya Bandana and ending with the epilogue betray this congruence even more clearly.

Excellence of Srijib's Vaishnab Bandana

Atulkrishna Goswamy has brought out a book, 'Vaishnab Bandana' by one Brindabandas, who is not that celebrated author, Brindabandas of the 'Sri Chaitanya Bhagbat' fame. In fact the author of the Sri Chaitanya Bhagbat', who is also the son of Narayani, has been described by her mother's name, Narayani, and saluted by Atulbabu's author, the name-sake of this son of Narayani, who is a premier Sri Chaitanya biographer also. For definiteness, we would rather distinguish Atulbabu's Brindabandas by a parenthetic label, 2, to wit, by the name Brindabandas(2). It is impossible to decide when this Brindabandas(2) lived. That this new writer is but a dealer in the pastiche plagiarized from Srijib has been shown in ch. 15, to be the characteristic of this unbranded epigone. Parallel passages from Srijib and Brindabandas(2) would reveal, as Dr. Majumdar has demonstrated, a palpable evidence that the author in question was an unsuccessful translator of Srijib's verses in Sanskrit. Whether in Chaitanyabanda or in the panegyric on Jahnabi, Birchandra, Nityananda *et al.*, Srijib's sanskrit distichs were plagiarized by the writer concerned. What is disconcerting is that the translator did not admit to its being an echo of Srijib's original.

[A word is in order about the genuiness of the report that Srijib was the author of the 'Bhaktiratnakar'. A hand-written copy of the book was found to lie in the custody of Adwaitadas Pandit Babaji, who happened to be the father of Dr. Majumdar's mother. It is unlikely that a circumspect scholar of this Babaji's kind would make a hand-written copy of a spurious text. If Narahari Chakrabarty's list of Srijib's books does not contain the one entitled 'Baishnab Bandana' it does

not follow that Srijib never wrote such a book. In fact, Narahari has made no mention of another important work of Srijib, to wit, 'Sarbasambadini', a philosophical text. The mere omission of the kind does not falsify the contention that Srijib wrote the book concerned. A writer's name is not to occur passim in a book written by himself. It is enough that Srijib's name occurs in 'Baishnab Bandana' no fewer than three times. An admission of his loyalty to Rup-Sonatan as made by the writer suggests that the writer is Srijib. It was Srijib's pleasure to admit to an allegiance to Rup-Sanatan. One may ask still : what could be the mystery, after all, of a Brindaban resident, Srijib, who narrated the intimate details of so many Bhaktas of Gour and also of Utkal, including the hear-says about the miracle-making power of Nityananda-devotees. Dr. Majumdar uses the testimony of the 'Bhaktiratnakar' (see p. 53) to observe that it was no mystery, Srijib being in the company of Sri Chaitanya and his devotees of Goura during his stay in Gour.]

Srijib mentions in 'Baishnab Bandana' Puris, Bharatis and Saraswatis in great numbers—indeed in greater number than any other author. Possibly, his informant was Raghunathdas Goswamy, who had been in Nilachal during the last phase of the Lord's Nilachal-lila spanning ten to fifteen years.

Dr. Majumdar almost vouches for the genuineness of the contention that Srijib was the writer of the 'Vaishnab Bandana'. The purpose of the works of the epigone Debakinandan and of Brindabandas(2) was to eclipse the original 'Vaishnab Bandana' by the master.

The number of devotees forming Sri Chaitanya's entourage : a critique

Some six controversial names occur in Debakinandan's version of the 'Vaishnab Bandana', Kalanidhi, Sudhanidhi and Gopinath—these are mentioned in the 'Sri Chaitanya

Charitamrita' but nowhere else. Maybe, someone has picked these names from the said book and entered them in the list of Srichaitanya's associates. Interestingly, if one leaves out some six names referred to above, Debakinandan's list would be identical with Srijib's list. Purushottamdas has been excluded from the list of the associates of Sri Chaitanya in the Brindabandas(2)—version of the 'Vaishnab Bandana', Brindabandas has refrained from translating some distichs of Srijib's book. As a result, as many as seventeen 'associates' mentioned by Srijib have been conspicuous by their absence in Brindabandas(2)'s work. There is a broad agreement between the original and the later versions, the discrepancies of Debakinandan and Brindabandas(2) being confined to a limited number of cases mentioned above.

The Importance of knowledge of intimate contemporaries of Sri Chaitanya

How many persons of his own time in the 16th century were there who received the grace of Lord Chaitanya? Well, their name is legion. Of them quite a few, possessing some special quality or having some influence over others, have been mentioned either in some of the seven oldest biographies of Sri Chaitanya or in some Oriya, Assamese or Hindi texts of the kind. The present chapter is the result of a comparative study of all these. Dr. Majumdar, on his own admission, has omitted any allusion to those contemporaries of the Lord who did not receive his grace. So it is that Husain Shah, Hiranya and Gobardhan Majumdar are conspicuous by their absence from the list of Sri Chaitanya's associates. On the other hand, Gadahar's and Nityananda's sires, who were no contemporaries of the Lord have been mentioned for the sake of maintaining the connectedness of the historical survey undertaken here and now. It goes without saying that any account of Sri Chaitanya requires for its completeness an ample account of his own

grandfather and other distant ancestors as well. To omit them would be an absurdify comparable to a story of Shakespear's 'Hamlet' without the prince of Denmark. Indeed a great man's life has certain at a vistic aspects traceable to remote sires.

Dr. Majumdar's apology for the present excursus consists of triune logic. First, the who and the where of the question—'Who received Sri Chaitanya's grace and where?—would shed some light on the Lord's intimate life and character. Second, the knowledge of the native districts of the recipients of his grace would reinforce our certitute about the wide popularity of his devotional doxy, enabling us to map out his exact sphere of influence. Third, it would, hopefully, make life easy for any future research-scholar, who would wish to know whether a verse or sloka discoveored by him was the work of a true Chaitanya-associate or merely one by his name-sake. Fourth, the present dissertation would bring to focus some features of eastern India's culture in the 16th century. Fifth, the present discourse would, hopefully, eliminate the confusion, which is due to several persons being there with an identical name. Some of the deities' names were very fashinable personal names those days. To obviate the bewilderment on this score, in particular, the author—Dr. Majumdar—contends that one must remember that a given individual's name is not apt to occur twice or thrice within a span of a few words or lines. Krishnadas Kaviraj, for one specifically states that the two occurrences of an identical name refer to two different branches.

The index to Vaishnaba works is but appended to two books. One is the Gouriya Matha edition of 'Sri Chaitanyacharitamrita', the other being the edition by Atul Krishna Goswamy of the 'Sri Chaitanyabhagbat'. The 'Brihat SriVaishnabcharit Abhidhan' published in 1331 B.S. by Mr. Amulyadhan Bhatta Roy contains the names of the devotees which have occurred in some or other Vaishnaba text.

Unfortunately, Mr. Bhatta Roy's index to such names is far from what could be deemed complete. In fact, the alphabetical index never goes beyond the Bengali character as 'chaw'. [The character read as 'chaw' is the one with which the Bengali for tea, namely, 'chaa' begins. The Bengali for wheel is also a word, namely, 'chakra' that begins with 'chaw'.] It is, however, very difficult to judge whether a person, who is not mentioned in any of the oldest books on Sri Chaitanya including those in Oriya Assamese or Hindi, was coeval with the Lord. Dr. Majumdar says he has confined his dissertation to those devotees of the Lord, who were his contemporaries. [Mr. Bhatta Roy's list sometimes seems to go beyond the confiness of this contemporaneity, which complicates things as explained above.] Well, Mr. Bhatta Roy has not proved what he says in this context. Again, monks such as Anubhabananda, upendra Ashram and Krishnananda Puri, are not mentioned by him, although the 'Vaishnab Banda' does not expunge these names. The present section is an attempt to complete the undertaking of Mr. Bhatta Roy.

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[*Translator's Note* : This translated version has no scope for a glossary of Sanskrit terms, which is often found in Sri Aurobindo's and Brojen Seal's works on Indian Systems of thought. The translator was compelled, therefore, to replace terms of Sanskrit and those of Sanskrit origin by single-word synoyms thereof. Unfortunately, a far more intensive sanskrit term cannot always be matched by a corresponding English. That is the *raison d' être* or rationale of a Glossary, where a whole passage may, if necessary, be employed to convey a highly pregnant Sanskrit term. The translator regrets that the preceding chapters constituting the main text betray an artificial substitution of single-word referent for a Sanskrit term. The term, 'Parikar', for instance is a wide one with a

spectrum of connotation that subsumes half a dozen English words—entourage; cohort; associates; servitors; company; group. One Parikar like Gadadhar was a servitor, another like Murari an associate while most were just members of an eentourage to form the chort. The translator would, from now on, use the Sanskrit words themselves and add a mini-glossary at the end of the section. It is hoped, quite a few of the mistranslated words would apear there with a clearer definition. A one-word synonymy, says Fowler, is a chimera even within a single language such as English. Certainly a transition from Sanskrit to English by that cryptic method can be as execrable as a mistranslation.]

On symbols and acronyms of the following alphabetical list of Parikars with their birth places et cetra.

1. *Avi* (Aviram) : Aviramdas's 'Paat Paryatan' (Sahitya Parishad, 2, 1318 B.S.) Deals with Parikars' birthplaces, residences etc.
2. *Kaa* : Karnapur's Sri Chaitanya Charitamrita Mahakabya: 2/12 i.e., ch. 2, sloka 12.
3. *Gou Ga Di* : Karnapur's Gourganoddeshdipika.
4. *Gou Pa Ta* : Gourpadatarangini (S P i.e., Sahitya Parishad, 2nd ed.)
5. *Cha* : Sri Chaitanya Charitamrita, edited by Radhabinode Nath.
6. *Chhotabandhani* : Numbers enclosed within small-span parentheses denote the particular name-sakes concerned.
7. *Ja* : Jayananda's Chaitanyamangal; also, Ja 12 : p. 12 thereof
8. *Jaykrishna* : 'Srichaitanya Paarishad Janmasthan Nirnay (SP Patrika, 4, 1337 B.S.)
9. *De* : Abulkrishna Goswami-edited anthology's Vaishnab Bandana by Debakinandan.

10. *Naa* : Karnapur's Sri Chaitanyachandrodaya play (Nirnay Sagar Press ed.)
11. *Padyaabali* : Dr. Sushilkumar De-edited Sri Rup Goswamy's 'Padyaabali'
12. *Bhaa* : Second ed. of Sri Chaitanya Bhagbat edited by Atulkrishna Goswami
13. *Mu* : Murari Gupta's 'Srikrishna Chaitanya Charitam'; 3rd ed. (edited by Mrinalkanti Ghosh)
14. *Jadu* : Jadunathdas's 'Shaakhaanirnayaamritam'. Only Gadadhar-disciples mentioned.
15. *Ramgopal* : Ramgopaldas's 'Shaakhaabarnanaa'. Disciples of Narahari Sarkar and Raghunandan mentioned. (Published at Srikhanda, 424 Chaitanyaabda)
16. *Lo* : Lochan's Chaitanyamangal (2nd ed.) edited by Mrinalkanti Ghosh.
17. *Barabandhani* : The tattwa (facts) given in Gourganoddeshdipika [Maladhar 144] [Note that barabandhani means square brackets]
18. *Bri* : Brindabandas(2)'s Vaishnab Bandana included in the Vaishnab Bandana anthology edited by Atulkrishna Goswamy.
19. *Sri* : The Vaishnab Bandana manuscript in Sanskrit composed by Srijib, which was discovered by Dr. Majumdar.
20. *The numerical notation* : To take an example, 'Gouriya', 3/4/73 refers to p. 73 of the journal of the third year and fourth issue.
21. *V B* : Vaishnab Bandana.
22. *Ni* : Nityananda branch.
23. *Chai* : Sri Chaitanya branch

Profiles of Parikars in alphabetical order

1. *Achytananda* (chai, A): Brahmin; Shantipur, Nilachal; of Gadadhar branch according to Jadunath; Adwaita's

eldest son; some of his brothers repudiated Chaitanya's Avatarhood.

2. *Achyutananda* : One of Panchasakha; milkman by caste; wel-known oriya writer.
3. *Akrur* : of Gadadhar branch according to Jadunath.
4. *Adwaita* : Disciple of Madhabendra; Mentioned in every Chaitanyabiography; Founder of the system of worship of Madangopal at Shantipur.
5. *Ananta Acharya* : Another member of the Oriya quintet called Panchasakha.
6. *Ananta* : Brahmin; Nabadwip; Pada maker.
7. *Ananta Acharya* : Of the two bearing this name, one was Gadadhar's disciple. He was entitled to look after the deity Gobinda i.e., entitled to Gobindaseba. The other commanded Krishnadas Kaviraj to write the Charitamrita. It is not known which one of the two has been alluded to in the Vaishnab Bandana.
8. *Ananta Chattopadhyay Sri Kanthaavaran* : (Ga. Jadu). [Gopali] Brahmin; the title alone occurs in the Charitamrita, the name in Gou Ga Di.
9. *Anantadas* : (A-59) : Seven Padas (Poems) by him occur in Gourpadatarangini.
10. *Ananta Pandit* : Brahmin; Aatisaaraa. Brindabandas says he hosted Sri Chaitanya on his way to Nilachal, which followed his adoption to monkhood. Jagabandhu Bhadra says Ananta Pandit and Anantadas are one and the same person.
11. *Anantapuri* : [One with Ashtasiddhi. (Astasiddhi means eightfold spiritual realization)] Lived in Beloon (Bardhaman district) (Avi). No Sri Chaitanya biography except Sri 271, De 131, Bri 130, mentions him. But Jayananda says he is a disciple of Madhabendra.
12. *Anupamballav (Chai)* : Brahmin; Srijib's father. Not

mentioned in Gour Ga Di and VB possibly for his devotion to Rama.

13. *Anubhabananda* : Sri 136, De 52, Bri
14. *Abhiram (Chai, Ni) [Sridam]* : Brahmin; Khanakul (District : Hooghly) Many hearsays about miracles done by him. He is deified and in fact even worshipped at Khanakul. The foundation of his spirituality i.e., his Shakti called Malini is a Muslim according to Abhiram Lilamrita (P. 32). But Bhaktiratnakar considers her a Brahmin (see p. 127). His reputation as a miracle maker is, however, based on its mention in books like Abhiram Lilamrita and Abhiram Patal. But their authenticity is questionable.
15. *Amogh Pandit* : (Ga. Jadu) Sarbavoum's son-in-law; Brahmin; Nilachal (Cha. 2/15/242-286)
16. *Asurpuri* : Madhabendra's disciple (Ja 34)
17. *Acharyachandra* : Nityananda's disciple; Brahmin (?) (Sri 195, De 78 etc.)
18. *Acharyaratna* : Brahmin; Nabadwip (Sri 90, De 27, Bri 28).
19. *Ishwarpuri* : Madhabendra's disciple. Sankarshan, Swarup. Biswarup founded a monastery-like institution in his honour. Born at Kumarhatta (Halisahar); a Rajgriha-dweller according to Jayananda. A well at Puri is named after him. His work, 'Sri Krishnalilamrita' is not extant.
20. *Ishan* : (Chai). Attendant of Bishwambhar Misra's household. He is adored in Brindabandas's Sri Chaitanya Bhagbat (2/8/207), for instance.
21. *Ishanacharya [Mouna Manjari]* : Brahmin; Brindaban. Accompanied Srirup to visit Gopal at Mathura (Cha. 2/18/46)
22. *Uddhabdas (Ga. Jadu) [Chandraabesh]* : Brindaban; also visited Gour from time to time considered Radha

Mohan Thakur's disciple by Mrinalkanti Ghosh and Satish Chandra Roy. But one of Gadadhar's disciples is named Uddhab too. Besides he is a poet, who is judged to be an eye-witness of Sri Chaitanya's protest-rally against the Kaji.

23. *Uddhaharan Datta (Ni) [Subahu]* : Subarna Banik; Saptagram; Shantipur (according to Jaykrishna); Krishnapur (according to Abhiram). Haridas Nandy's biography of Uddharan appeared in 1332 B.S.

24. *Upendra Ashram (Sri 270, De 131, Bri 130)* : Karnapur mentions one Gopendra Ashram and calls him 'Jayanteya' in one of his doxies.

25. *Upendra Misra [Paryanya]* : Sri Chaitanya's grandfather; Brahmin; Srihatta. He had seven sons; Jagannath, his fifth, was Sri Chaitanya's father. Jayananda misnames him Jagannath.

26. *Kabi Karnapur (chai)* : Shibananda's son; true name : Parmanandadas Sen; Baidya; Kanchanpally (Kanchrapara); His Guru was Srinath Famous author. (Books mentioned in a foregoing section).

27. *Kabichandra (chai)* : Adored by Srijib. Jadu, Banamali and Sasthibar with the same sobriquet seem to be different from the one adored by Srijib.

28. *Kabidatta (Ga) [Kalakanthi]* : Kulia Paharpur (Abhiram); Mentioned in the Chaitanya branch in the Gouriya edition of the Charitamrita.

29. *Kabiratna (one of Astanidhi)* : Brahmin; disciple of Narahari Sarkar, a Baidya himself. Slokas 40, 41, 77, 78 of Padyaabali may be his composition.

30. *Kabiraj Misra Bhagbatacharya* : (Sri 217, De 102, Bri 93).

31. *Kamal (Chai) [Gandhonmaad]* : The Kamal of Ganoddesh and the Kamal of the Charitamrita seem to be two persons.

32. *Kamalakar Das (Bri 88)* : Brindabandas writes a panegyric. It is translated as :

    'I salute the Kamalakor Das
    whom Kirtan makes so joyous.'

33. *Kamalakar Pippalayee (Ni) [Mahabal]* : Brahmin: Born at Maahesh: lived in Jageshwar Pippalayee-surname was not unknown in Bengal of those days. When Sri Chaitanya was a ten-year old, One Bipradas Pippalayee wrote a version of the 'Manasamangal'.

34. *Kamalakanta (chai 117)* : Nabadwip. In the Chaitanyabhagbat one reads a verse on him, which purports to what follows :

    'Murari, alias Kamalakanta, the leading light
    Of groups of persons that catch one's sight.'

35. *Kamalakanta Pandit* : Gadadhar's disciple. says Jadunath. Brahmin: Saptagram. Brinadbandas' Sri Chaitanya Bhagbat speaks of Nityananda gifting Saptagram to Kamalakanta Pandit.

36. *Kamalakanta Biswas(A)* : Charitamrita (1/12/26-51) describes how he wrote to Prataprudra to wangle to grab three hundred rupeès under a subterfuge of Adwaita's debt to deity: Dr. Majumdar remarks that such wanglers were there even in the formative period of the Vaishnab community.

37. *Kamalananda (chai. 147)* : Nabadwip: Sri Chaitanya's former attendant in Gour. One Kamalanand came to visit Sachi .Devi (Kabikarnapur's Mahakabya 13/121 and Natak 8/33).

38. *Kamalabati [Bariyasi]* : Sri Chaitanya's grand mother (grandfather's wife); Brahmin: Srihatta.

39. *Kalanidhi (Chai)* : Ramananda Roy's brother; Oriya: Karan.

40. *Kanai Khutia* : Oriya; author of the book, 'Mahaprakash'.

41. *Kanu Thakur (Ni)* : Baidya; Pada-writer; (Possibly) a follower of Ramananda Roy.
42. *Kanu Pandit (A)* : Brahmin
43. *Kamdeb Chaitanyadas (A)* : Brahmin; Khardah; one pada in the 'Padakalpataru' is written by one Kamdeb.
44. *Kamabhatta (Chai)* : Nilachal; name suggestive of Maharastrian origin.
45. *Kalidas [Pulindatanaya Mally]* : Kayastha; Saptagram Kabikarnapur devised the sobriquet, Pulindatanaya, for him because he had once eaten of the stone of a mango fruit after one Vaishnab had eaten its flesh (Pulp) and cast aside. His Vaishnab-bhakti was of a crude outcast. Hence the Pejorative alias.
46. *Kalinath Brahmachari* : Of Gadadhar branch according to Jadunath
47. *Kashinath Dwija [Kulak]* : Brahmin; Nabadwip; Match-maker in Bishnupriya's marriage.
48. *Kashinath Mahati [Sanakadi]* : Oriya; Karan; Tamluk (Sri 238, De 113, Bri 107).
49. *Kasi Purayanya (Ja 88)* : Was at Katwa when Sri Chaitanya adopted monkhood or Sannyas.
50. *Kasi Misra (Chai) [Soirindhri]* : Brahmin; Puri; Preached the Vaishnab cult at Tamluk according to Jaykrishna. (Sri 163-64, Bri 57 etc.)
51. *Kashinath Rudra (chai 104)* : Brahmin; Chatra (near Serampore i.e., (correctly spelt), Srirampur. [Serampur is the corruption of the place-name perpetrated by British bosses of India and perpetuated by some anglecised Bengalees.]
52. *Kshishwar Goswamy (Chai 106) [Shashirekhaa]* : Brahmachari; Ishwarpuri's disciple. Mentioned in the 'Bhaktiratnakar' and the 'Haribhaktibilaas'.
53. *Kashishwar [Bhringar]* : Former attendant of the Lord (Sri 113, Bri 38 etc.) Mentioned as a fellow-traveller

of the devotees in their journey from Gour to Puri.

54. *Kashishwar Misra* : Brahmin; Fulia (De 112)
55. *Kumudananda Pandit [Gandharba Gope]* : Of Gadadhar branch according to Jadunath; Brahmin; Chattogram-Dnaihat (Burdwan); said to have set up the Rasikraj icon, which is still worshipped at Dnaihat.
56. *Kurma* : Brahmin, Srichaitanya bestowed grace on him during his (Sri Chaitanya's) tour in the deccan. (Cha 2/7/8-132)

    [On multiple Krishnadas : Some ten distinct instances of this name are mentioned in the Vaishnaba texts. Kalakrishnadas, Krishnadas Brahmachari of the Adwaita branch, and one who was himself Adwaita's son deserve special mention.]
57. *Krishnadas (Ni 33)* : Brahmin; Aakaaihaat (within a mile and a half from Katwa) (Sri 192, De 79, Bri 66 etc.); Amulya Bhatta Roy's view that he is the Kala Krishnadas is not shared by Krishnadas Kaviraj in his Chaitanya Charitamrita.
58. *Krishnadas (Ni 34) [Labanga]* : Kalia Krishnadas; His complexion was possibly very dark. He is said often to be in dishabille, if not nude, which might be the result of his absent-mindedness. According to Jayakrishna, he was born at Mamdabad but B. G. Goswamy's article in the journal, 'Bishnupriya Gouranga' (5/1/13) places him in sonatola in the district of pabna. (Sri 212, Bha 3/7/474 etc.)
59. *Krishnadas (Ni 12)* : (Sri 248, De 135)
60. *Krishnadas (Ni 44)* : Brahmin; Bihar; Bargachhi (Sri 259-65, De 127 etc.)
61. *Krishnadas—Sishu Krishnadas* : Reared by Nityananda; Oriya according to Jaykrishna (Sri 275, 76, Bri 132 etc.)
62. *Krishnadas (Ni 43)* : Debananda Pandit's brother; Brahmin; Kulia (Sri 280, Bri 135) Possibly, he

accompanied Nityananda in the latter's journey from Puri to Gour.

63. *Krishnadas (Chai 107) [Ratnarekhaa]* : Baidya
64. *Krishnadas (Chai 143)* : Karnapur and Krishnadas Kaviraj think that he was Sri Chaitanya's companion during the Lord's tour of the deccan.
65. *Krishnadas (A 16) [Kartikeya]* : Adwaita's second son: Brahmin; Shantipur.
66. *Krishnadas (Ga Cha 3 Jadu) [Indulekha]* : Brindaban
67. *Krishnadas (A 60)*
68. *Krishnadas* : Oriya Brahmin; the man with Jagannath icon's golden cane in hand (Na 82)
69. *Krishnadas Hore* : Brahmin; Bargachhi; was present at the flattened rice feast (Chiramahotsab) sponsored by Raghunath as one finds from the Charitamrita.
70. *Krishnadas Rajpur* : Occurs in Murari (4/2/11) and Krishnadas Kaviraj (2/18) but not in the Chaitanya branch list; took Sri Chaitanya to Brindaban.
71. *Krishnadas Gunjamali* : A local of Lahore; Preached the cult of Srichaitanya in the Punjab, Multan, Surat and Gujrat as per a report in the Bhatamal in Bengali.
72. *Krishnananda (Chai) [Kalabati]* : Oriya (Sri 114, De 39, Bri 39)
73. *Krishnananda (Ni)* : Brahmin; Nabadwip; Not the one who wrote the 'Tantrasaar'.
74. *Krishnananda Puri* : Madhabendra's disciple [Siddhi]
75. *Keshab Chhatri Khan* : Kayastha; Gour (Na 9/16, Bha 3/4/425 etc.); Sloka numbered 153 in the 'Padyaabali' is his work.
76. *Keshab Puri* : Madhabendra's disciple [Siddhi] (Sri 135, De 52, Bri 46)
77. *Keshab Bharati* : Madhabendra's disciple [Saandipani]; Denur (in Burdwan) (Mu 2/18/7, Na 6/20; Ka 11/44 etc.) Bhattacharyas of Guptipara and many others claim

to have descended from the Keshab-family.

78. *Kangsari Sen [Ni] [Ratnaabali]* : Baidya: Kanchisali or Guptipara (Sri 253, De 123 etc.) Amulya says, without proof, that Sadashib Kaviraj is his son.
79. *Kramak Puri* : (J 2)
80. *Ganga [Ganga]* : Nityananda's daughter: Brahmin—Jirat. Krishnadas Kaviraj mentions Birbhadra but omits the reference to Ganga. (Sri 55-60)
81. *Gangadas* : Brahmin: Resident of Anadi. (Sri 267, Bri 128 etc.)
82. *Gangadas Pandit (Chai) [Bashistha]* : Brahmin: Nabadwip: reportedly a smriti-theory teacher of Sri Chaitanya. (Sri 101, Mu 1/9/1 etc.)
83. *Gangadas (Ni) [Durbasa]* : Nandan Acharya's brother: Brahmin: Nabadwip (Sri 113). He was in Bishwambhar's Kirtan troupe.
84. *Gangadas Nirlom (Chai)* : Nilachal
85. *Gangamantri (Ga)* : Mamuthakur may be his nick-name. Jadunath considers Mamathakur different from Gangamantri.
86. *Gangadhar Das (Chai, Ni) [Chandrakanti, Purnaanandaa]* : Eriadaha: Kayastha according to Charitamrita's Kalna ed.: Eriadaha locals told Dr. Majumdar that Gangadhar's descendants living there are known as Brahmins. (Na 10/5, Bha 3/5/449, Lo 2).
87. *Gadadhar Pandit (Chai) [Radha and Lolita]* : His father was Madhab Misra: Brahmin: Srihatta or Chattogram (Mu 2/3/10, Bha 1/2/13 etc.)
88. *Gadadhar Bhatta [Rangadebi]* : Gopal Bhatta's disciple: Hindi Verse writer (Bhakamal, pp. 793-800)
89. *Garur [Kumud 116]* : Bom in Gour
90. *Garur Abadhut [Jayanteya 101]* : (Sri 131, De 48 etc.)
91. *Garur Pandit (Chai) [Garur 117]* : Brahmin: Akna (Nabadwip) (Mu 4/17/11, Bha 1/2/18 etc.)

92. *Gunanidhi [Nidhi]* :
93. *Gokuldas (Ni)* : Homestead at Ghoraghat
94. *Gopal (Ni 47)*
95. *Gopal (A)* : Adwaita's son; Brahmin; Shantipur (Na 10/49-51 etc.)
96. *Gopal Acharya (Chai)*
97. *Gopal Guru* : Oriya; said to have received Sri Chaitanya's grace.
98. Gopaldas (Chai) [Pali Gopi]
99. *Gopaldas* : In Jadunath's opinion, he was of the Gadadhar branch.
100. *Gopaldas Thakur* : Narahari's disciple.
101. *Gopal Nartak (Ni 50)* : (ka. 11/50)
102. *Gopal Puri* : Joyananda, P. 134
103. *Gopal Batta (Chai) [Anangamanjari or Gunamanjari]* : According to Bhaktiratnakar, Benkat's son; Brahmin; Sriranga, Brindaban possibly, some padas in the Braja dialect. (Sri 145-148 etc.)
104. *Gopal Sadipuria (Ga, Jadu)* : Nativity undetermined from his surname
105. *Gopikanta (Chai)*
106. *Gopinath Acharya/Pandit [Brahmaa]* : Brahmin; Nabadwip (Bha 1/2/18)
107. *Gopinath Acharya (chai) [Ratnabali]* : husband of Sarbabhoum's Sister; Brahmin; Nilachal-resident (Mu 1/1/19; Na 6/18 etc.)
108. *Gopinath Pattanayak (chai)* : Ramananda Roy's brother; Oriya; Karan (De 66; Omitted in the books dated 1654 A.D and 1705 A.D.)
109. *Gopinath Sinha (Chai) [Akrur]* : Kayastha (Mu 4/17/12, Bha 3/9/492)
110. *Gobinda (Chai, Ishwarpuri's disciple) [Bhangur]* : Lord's Servitor; Nilachal (Mu 4/17/20, Ka 13/130, Na 8/13)

111. Gobinda Kaviraj (Ni)
112. Gobinda Karmakar (J83) (See ch. 13 of this text)
113. *Gobinda Acharya [Pournamasi; Geet Padyadikarakah]* : Wrote verses on Radha-Krishna (De 103, Bri 95)
114. *Gobinda Ghosh (Chai) [Kalabati]* : Kirtan-singer; Pada-maker; Kayastha; born at Kulai (near Katwa); Brother to Basu and Madhabendra Ghosh; resident of Agradwip last rites of Gobinda were quaintly heightened as they decorated the icon of Gopinath on that occasion. That very icon was later distrained by Raja Krishna Chadnra's creditor Nabakrishna, who had given the Raja a loan of three lac rupees but who was not repaid. The Raja did not eat the humble pie either and retrieved the icon, duly winning the law-suit that he filed against Nabakrishna for his arrogant act of usury and sacrilege. (vide ward's History of Hindus, vol. I, pp 205-6). Six padas by Gobinda Ghosh are included in the 'Padakalpataru'. (Sri 196, Bri 68, Mu 4/17/6 etc.)
115. *Gobinda Datta (Chai) [Pundarikaksha]* : Kirtan-Singer; Sukhchar; Mukunda's and Basudeb's brother (?); Sanatan Goswami pays homage to all three in the prelude to his 'Brihat Baishnab Toshani'. (Bha 2/8/210, Ja 2)
116. *Gobinda Dwija (alias, Sugrib Misra)* : Born at Fulia; respected as Lord's Bhakta; Resident of Kongarhatta (Sri 171/4, De 69 etc.)
117. *Gobindananda Thakur (Chai) [Sugrib]* : Mentioned beside Oriya bhaktas (Sri, Bri)
118. *Gobindananda Puri [Siddhi]* : (Sri 129, De 47 call him Gobinda Puri).
119. *Gourangadas (Ni)* : Bhaktiratnakar (P. 589) Laments his life of misery.
120. *Gouridas Pandit (Ni) [Subal)* : Uncle of Nityananda's wife; son of Kongsari Misra; Brahmin; Resident of

Shaligram. Mentioned in the Bhaktiratnakar etc. and held in high esteem by other devotees.

121. *Jnandas (Ni)*
122. *Chakrapani Acharya (A)* : According to the Bengali version of the Bhaktamaal, he had gone over to Gujrat to preach the cult.
123. *Chakrapani Majumdar* : According to Ramgopal Das (see Shaakhaa Nirnay, p. 5), he is a disciple of Narahari Sarkar. He met Sri Chaitanya at Nilachal. Jnananda and Nityananda are his sons.
124. *Chaturvuj Pandit* : Ganadas Pandit is Chaturvuja's son. Nityananda Swarup loved Chaturvuj. (Bha 3/6/474, Ja 145).
125. *Chandaneshwar* : Sarbabhoum's son; Brahmin; Puri (Sri 234, Na 6/20 etc.)
126. *Chandrasekhar Acharya (Chai) [Chandra]* : Brahmin; Srihata—Nabadwip. Possibly composed a few padas; lived in Puri also (Mu 1/2/21 etc.)
127. *Chandrasekhar Baidya (Chai)* : Baidya; Srihatta-Kashi; Gouriya edition of the Charitamrita reckons him as a writer (Mu 4/1/18 etc.)
128. *Chandramukhi* : Daughter of Suryadas Pandit (Ja 3)
129. *Chidananda Bharati* : 'Chidananda' of Sri and De becomes 'Sachchidananda' in Bri. (Sri 50, De 52, Br 46).
130. *Chiranjib (Chai) [Chandrika]* : Raghunandan's disciple as Ramgopaldas says; Baidya; Srikhanda (Bardhaman); Chiranjib is said to be a local of Kumarnagar (see Bhaktiratnakar, p. 17) Settled in Srikhanda, according to the reference cited, after marrying the daughter of a Srihatta man-Damodar Kaviraj. Sloka numbered 157 of the 'Padabali' is from his compositions. His son, Gobindadas Kaviraj was a famous Pada-maker. (Bhaktiratnakar, p. 17).

131. *Chiranjib (Chai 117)* : Bhagbatacharya Chiranjib and Sri Raghunandar Bhagabatacharya may be different names. The whole thing may, however, be Chiranjib's title as well. Father of Jaygopaldas of Kandra was named Chiranjib; he was a devotee too. (see Uttar Rariya Kayastha Khanda, pt. 2, p. 164)
132. *Chaitanyadas (Chai) [Sudaksha Shukpakshi]* : Sribananda's son; Baidya; Kanchanpally (cha 2/16/22)
133. *Chaitanyadas (Ga 84)* Cha. Rangabati (Bangabati as per Gouriya edition) Lalmohan Sahasankhanidhi of Dhaka claims to be Chaitanyadas's descendant of the tenth generation.
134. *Chaitanyadas* : Two Chaitanyadas's are mentioned by Jadunathdas. Both belong to the Gadadhar branch. Chaitanyadas bearing the serial number 132 may be the same as the present one.
135. *Chakrhi* : Bangshi Thakur's father; Brahmin; Kulia
136. *Jagadananda (Chai) [Satyabhama]* : Brahmin; Kanchanpally, 'Padabali's sloka numbering 271 is his. (Mu 4/17/18 etc.)
137. *Jagadish (Sa)* : Adwaita's son; Brahmin; Shantipur
138. *Jagadish (Chai) [Jajna Patni]* : Brahmin; Nabadwip; friend to Jagannath Misra; On one Ekadashi day Nemai took his meal at Jagadish's; Hiranya, his brother (Ja 145), (Sri 113, Bri 38, De 38, Mu 4/7/10; Bha 1/4/41 etc.)
139. *Jagadish Pandit (Ni) [Chandrahaasnartak 143]* : Nrityabinodi Brahmin; Jashrha. (Sri 258 etc.)

    [*A remark on nominal repetitiveness* : The name Jagannath associated with ten different person—all linked with Vaishnabism—may seem bewildering. All ten occur in the 'Vaishnab Bandana'. The name Jagadish occurs in the Chaitanya Bhagbat to denote two persons.

Who, of those two, attended the anti-kazi demonstration, is yet undecided.]

140. *Jagannath (ni)* : Brahmin
141. *Jagannath* : Kanai Khutia's son
142. *Jagannath Kar (A)* : Kayastha
143. *Jagannath Tirtha (Chai) [Jayanteya]* : (Sri 269, De 130)
144. *Jagannathdas (Chai)* : Oriya; The epithet, Sri Galim, in the Charitamrita; possibly one of the quinted called Panchasakha; see ch. 11 of the present work. (Sri 228-29 etc.)
145. *Jagannathdas Kasthakaataa (Ga, Jadu)*
146. *Jagannath Dwija Chakraborty Mamu Thakur (Ga) [Kalabhaasini]* : Tota Gopinath's Servitor
147. *Jagannath Pandit (Chai) [Durbasa]* : Brahmin (Sri 247, De 169)
148. *Jagannath Mahati* : Karan; Oriya [Cha 2/15/20]
149. *Jagannath Misra [Nanda]* : Sri Chaitanya's father; Brahmin; Srihatta, Nabadwip (Sri 23, De 6, Bri 10) [Mentioned in all Sri Chaitanya biographies. The Worshippers of Sri Chaitanya icon at Nabadwip and Sasibhusan Goswami (Vide his 'Sri Chaitanya-tattwadipika', p. 50) Place Jagannath Misra in Bhardwaj Gotra. But Murari (1/6/30) considers him one of Batsya Gotra. [Note that two Brahmins may differ in their Gotra specifications.]
150. *Jagannath Sen (Kamala)* : Baidya (Sri 251, De 122, Bri 116)

     [Note that Dr. Sushil Kumar De disputes the patronymic, Sen, in any Jagannath that is a direct disciple of Sri Chaitanya]
151. *Jagaai (Chai) [Jay]* : Brahmin, Nabadwip (Bha 1/1/10 etc.)
152. *Jagaai (writer)* : (Ja 47)
153. *Jangali (Bijaya)* : One Rajkumar Basu (alias,

Jojneshwar) assumed female name, transvested and behaved as a woman. Buchanon Hamiltan's Purnea report says that he was a Brahmin who lived near Gour. He was Sitadebi's disciple and did the Sadhana at a place called Jangali Tota. (vide 'Uttar Rariya Kayastha Kanda, vol. 3, pp. 185-187)

154. *Janardan Brahman* : Oriya; Jagannath-worshipper (Na 8/2, cha 2/10/39).
155. *Janardandas (A)*
156. *Jayananda* : Subuddhi Misra's son; writer of the 'Chaitanyamangal' and according to Jadunath, one of the Gadadhar branch.
157. *Janakinath (Chai)* : Brahmin; Bhaktiratnakar (p-5 88) praises his qualities.
158. *Jahnabi [Rebati-Anangamanjari]* : (Sri 43-50, De 12, Bri 14-15)
159. *Jitamitra (Ga, Jadu) [Shyammanjari]*
160. *Jib Goswamy (Chai) [Bilasmanjari]* Writer of standing; Brahmin; Brindaban (De, Bri, Cha 2/1/37)
161. *Jharh Thakur (Bhnuimaali)* : (Cha 3/16) [It is not known whether he saw Sri Chaitanya.]
162. *Tapan Acharya (Chai)* : Brahmin; Fulia-Nilachal
163. *Tapan Misra (Chai)* : Brahmin; Kashi (Mu 4/1/15 etc.)
164. *Tulsi Misra Parhichha* : Oriya Brahmin; Tamluk (Sri 238 etc.)
165. *Trimalla Bhatta* : Brahmin; Srirangakshetra; Sri Chaitanya did his Chaaturmasya brata at his house during his tour of the deccan. [The said brata is a four-monthly ritual. Even Buddhists observe it in their way.] (Mu 3/15/10 etc.)
166. *Damayanti (Chai) [Gunamalasakhi]* : Brahmin; Panihati; Sister to Raghab Pandit.
167. *Damodardas (Ni)* : Possibly, Suryadas Sarkhel's brother.
168. *Damodar Pandit (Chai) [Shaibyaa]* : Saraswati; Oriya

Brahmin; Shankar Pandit's elder. (Sri 95. De 27, Bha 3/3/409 etc.)

169. *Damodar Puri [Siddhi]* : (Sri 127, De 46, Bri 44). All three of these Panegyrics on Damodar Puri liken him to Satyabhama. Jagadananda Satyabhama in Gou Ga Di.
170. *Durlav Biswas (A)*
171. *Debananda Pandit (Chai, Ni) [Bhandari Muni]* : Brahmin, Kulia (Nabadwip); Bhagbat-reciter. (Sri 194, De 78 etc.)
172. *Debananda (Ni)* : Mentioned in the 'Sri Chaitanya Bhagbat'.
173. *Dhananjay Pandit (Ni) [Basudam]* : Baidya (?); Chattogram—Jargram and Sitalgram (Bardhaman); Sanchra Panchra (Sri 244-46 etc.) Sloka 65 of the Padabali may be his.
174. *Dhrubananda Brahmachari (Ga) [Lolita]* : Founder of Jagannath at Mahesh
175. *Nakri (Ni)*
176. *Nakuḷ Brahmachari* : 'Sort of advent of Gouranga'—Ambuya Muluk (Na 9/3)
177. *Nabani Hore (Ni)*
178. *Narahari Sarkar (Chai) [Madhumati]* : Baidya; Srikhanda; 'Srikrishna Bhajanaamritam' and possibly 'Bhaktichandrika Patal' also are his works. (Sri 187 etc.)
179. *Nayan Misra (Ga, Jadu) [Nityamanjari]* : Brahmin; Bharatpur (Murshidabad); Goswamis of Bharatpur would show two slokas in Srichaitanya's handwriting to be seen still on a copy of the Gita.
180. *Nandan Acharya (Chai, Ni)* : Brahmin; Nabadwip; Chaturvuj Pandit's son (De 33 etc.)
181. *Nandai (Ni)*
182. *Nandayi (Chai) [Barid]* : Sri Chaitanya's Servitor Puri
183. *Nandini (A) [Jaya]* : Sita's male disciple simulating

femaleness and doing the Sadhana in the Sakhibhab; Kayastha; Natore. (see Buchanon Hamiltan's Purnea Report, p. 273)

184. *Narayan (Ni)* : Debananda's brother; Brahmin; Nabadwip (Bha 2/8/209, Cha 2/11/75)
185. *Narayan* : Damodar Pandit's brother (Sri 25, De 28, Bri 31).
186. *Narayan Gupta* : Baidya; Panihati (Sri 100, De 30 etc.)
187. *Narayandas (A)* : Accompanied Srirup as Srirup visited Gopal (cha 2/18/45)
188. *Narayan Poirari* : Brahmin; same person with titles Bachaspati/Pandit (?) (Sri 284, De 139, Bri 138)
189. *Narayani* : Brahmin; Sribas's sister-in-law (Sri 284, De 19 etc.)
190. *Narayani* : Sribas's niece; Brindabandas's mother; Brahmin (Mu 2/7/26, Bha 1/1/11 etc.)
191. *Nityananda [Halayudh]* : Sankarshan Puri's disciple [Madhabendra Puri's disciple was Sankarshan]; Bhaktiratnakar (P. 322) opines, however, that the Guru of Nityananda was Lakhmipati, the Guru of Madhabendra himself. But Madhabendra maintained a friendly relation with Nityananda. (See Hamiltan's Purnea report). (Sri 37, De 11, Bri 13)
192. *Nilambar (Chai 146)* : 'Raghu' may be a part-name of his.
193. *Nilambar Chakrabarty (Garg)* : Father of Sri Chaitanya's mother; prepared the horoscope of Lord Chaitanya. (Sri 97-98, Mu 1/2/2 etc.)
194. *Nrisinha Chidananda Tirtha [Jayanteya]*
195. *Nrisinhachaitanyadas (Ni)* : Gouridas Pandit's brother according to 'Subalmangal'
196. *Nrisinhacharya* : Brahmin; Nabadwip (Na 8/33)
197. *Nrisinhananda Tirtha* : Madhabendra's disciple [Jayanteya] (Sri 128 etc.)

198. *Nrisinhananda Bharati (?)* : (Sri 130, De 48 etc.)
199. *Nrisinha Jati* : (Ja 88)
200. *Nyayacharya* : Went to Nilachal every year to visit Sri Chaitayna (Na 9/2)
201. *Padmabati* : Nityananda's mother, Brahmin; Ekchaka (Sri 35, De 10, Bha 1/6/63)
202. *Parmananda Abadhut (Ni)* : (Sri 266, De 128, Bri 127)
203. *Parmananda Upadhyay (Ni)* : (Bha 3/6/474, Ja 175)
204. *Parmananda Kirtaniya* : Kashi; Chandrasekhar Baidya's companion (Cha 2/25/3)
205. *Parmananda Gupta (Ni) [Manjumedha]* : (Sri 251, De 122 etc.)
206. *Parmananda Pandit* : Sri Chaitanya's class-mate; of Gadadhar branch according Jadunath; lived in Brindaban (according to Bhaktiratnakar) (Sri 193, Bri 66)
207. *Parmananda Puri* : Madhabendra's disciple [Uddhab] : Born at Trihut; Nilachal (Sri 126, De 46 etc.)
208. *Parmananda Mahapatra (Chai)* : Oriya (Cha 2/10/44)
209. *Parmeshwar Modak* : Modak; Nabadwip (Cha 3/12/53)
210. *Paremashwardas Thakur (Ni) [Arjun]* : Baidya; Khardah/Atpur; Jackal devotees' myths exalt him (Bha 3/5/449 etc.)
211. *Pitambar (Ni) (Kaberi)* : Damodar Pandit's brother; Oriya; Brahmin (Sri 95, De 27)
212. *Pundarik Vidyanidhi (Chai)* : Madhabendra's disciple; Brahmin; Chakrasal (Chattogram) (Sri 103 etc.)
213. *Purandar Acharya (Chai)* : Brahmin; Nabadwip (Sri 191, Mu 4/17/10 etc.)
214. *Purandar Pandit (Ni) [Angad 91]* : Khardaha (Sri 161, Bha 3/5/449 etc.)
215. *Purushottam (Chai 78)* : Kulingram
216. *Purushottam (Chai 110)* : Oriya
217. *Purushottam Acharya (Chai) [Bishakha]* : Swarup Damodar's earlier name; Brahmin; Nabadwip; of

Gadadhar branch (according to Jadunath); Became a monk after Sri Chaitanya became one (Sri 133 etc.)

218. *Purushottam Tirtha [Jayanteya]* : Two were there of this name (Sri 211 etc.)
219. *Purushottam Datta (Ja 145)*
220. *Purushottamdas (Nagar Purushottam) (Ni 35) [Daam]* : Baidya; Sukhsagar, Bodhkhana (Jashore) (Sri 197 etc.)
221. *Purushottam Pandit (Ni)* : Brahmin; Nabadwip (De 97 etc.)
222. *Purushottam Pandit (A 61) (De 100 etc.)*
223. *Purushottam Puri* : Same as Purushottam Tirtha (De 130 etc.)
224. *Purushottam Brahmachari (Ni 60)* : Kanchisali (Sri 240 etc.)
225. *Purushottam Sanjoy (Chai 70)* : Brahmin; Nabadwip; Pupil of Pravu (Mu 4/17/7 etc.)
226. *Puspagopal (Ga, Jadu)*
227. *Pratap Rudra (Chai, Jadu) [Indradyumna]* : Orissa's Raja who had to bear the Pathan aggression; was engrossed in Sri Chaitanya's though after his withdrawal (Sri 222, De 105 etc.)
228. *Pradyumna Giri (Ja 88)*
229. *Pradyumna Mishra (Chai)* : Brahmin, Oriya; Puri (De 66, Bha 3/3/409)
230. *Prabudhananda [Tungavidya]* : Sriranga; Brahmin; monk (Sri 155-56 etc.)
231. *Praharaj Mahapatra* : Brahmin; Oriya (Na 8/2)
232. *Bhagaban Acharya (Chai 104-Jadu)* : Shatananda Khan's son; Gopal Bhatacharya's brother; Identified (?) with Bhagaban Nyayacharya (Cha 2/10/177)
233. *Bhagaban Kar (A)* : Bhabanath Kar is his name in (Gouriya ed.) Charitamrita.
234. *Bhagaban Pandit (Chai 67) (Mu 4/17/19)*
235. *Bhagaban Misra (Chai 108)*
236. *Bhabananda (Chai) [Pandu]* : Ramananda's father; Kar;

Oriya (De 66 etc.) Padabali's slokas 30, 89 are possibly his.

237. *Bhabananda Goswamy* : Of Gadadhar Branch (according to Jadunath) [comments : Different branches had four persons each named Bhagabatacharya)
238. *Bhagabatacharya (A 56)*
239. *Bhagabatacharya Raghunath (Ga, Jadu) [Swetmanjari]* : Brahmin; Barahanagar (Bha 3/5/449-50)
240. *Bhagabat Das (Ga, Jadu)* : Brindaban (Sri 154, De 58 etc.)
241. *Bhargab Acharya (Ja 88)*
242. Bhargab Puri (Ja 2)
243. *Bhaskar Thakur [Biswakarma]* : Carpenter; Dnaihat (Bardhaman) (De 123 etc.)
244. *Bhugarbha Gosain (Ga, Jadu) [Premmanjari]* : Brahmin; Brindaban (Sri 154 etc.)
245. *Bholanathdas (A)*
246. *Makaradhwaj [Sukeshi]*
247. *Makaradhwaj Kar (Chai, Raghab Pandit branch) [Chandramukh Nat]* : Kayastha (De 101, Bri 92 etc.)
248. *Mangal Vaishnab (Ga)* : His disciples now live at Kandra (Birbhum); sloka 130 of the 'Padyabali' is ascribed to him (De 102, Bri 93-94)
249. *Madhu Pandit* : of Gadadhar branch (according to Jadunath); Tamluk and Brindaban (De 116, Sri 240 etc.)
250. *Madhusudan (Chai)* : Baidya (according to Ramgopaldas)
251. *Manorath Puri (Ja 88, Bri 46)*
252. *Manohar (Ni 43)* : Debananda's brother; Brahmin; Kulia (Bha 3/6/475) slokas 274, 275 of the 'Padyabali' are attributed to Manohar. (S.K. De speaks of two Manohars.)
253. *Manohar (Ni 49)* : Six Padas by one Manohar are included in the 'Padakalpataru'.

254. *Mahidhar (Ni 45)*
255. *Mahesh Pandit (Ni 29) [Mahabahu]* : Brother to Jasrah's Jagadish Pandit; Jashipur (originally of Srihatta, possibly) (De 125 etc.)
256. *Mahesh Pandit (Chai 109)*
257. *Mahendra Giri (Ja 88)*
258. *Madhab (Ni)*
259. *Madhab Acharya (Ni) [Shantanu]* : Nityananda's son-in-law; Brahmin; Jiraat
260. *Madhabananda (Chai) [Madhabi]* : Author of 'Krishnamangal', in Bengali, and 'Premratnakar', in Sanskrit. Chanduya's Goswamys are his descendants. (Sri 279 etc.)
261. *Madhabdas* : Kulia; Srichaitanya put up in his house during his tour of Gaur. (Na 9/13 etc.)
262. *Madhab Patanayak* : Oriya; Karan (Sri 235 etc.)
263. *Madhab Pandit (A)*
264. *Madhab Misra [Pundariker Prakash]* : Gadadhar's father (Bha 2/7/200 etc.)
265. *Madhabananda Ghosh (Chai, Ni) [Rasogalla]* : Basu Ghosh's brother; Kayastha; Kulaai; Singer and Pada-maker (Sri 196, De 81 etc.)
266. *Madhabi Debi (Chai) [Kalakeli]* : Sikhi Mahiti's Sister; Karan; Oriya (Ka 13/90 etc.)
267. *Madhabendra Puri* : Sri Chaitanya's Grand-Preceptor. Versified encomium on him are found in Sri, De, Bri etc.
268. *Madhai (Chai) [Bijay]* : Brahmin; Nabadwip; brother to Jagai.
269. *Manu Thakur (Ga, Jadu)* : Oriya
270. *Maladhar Brahmachari (Ja 73)* : Mentioned by way of Nabadwip Lila description.
271. *Malini [Ambika]* : Sribas's wife; Brahmin; Nabadwip

272. *Meenaketan Ramdas (Ni) [Nishath, Ulluk]* : Visited Krishnadas Kaviraj's house at Jhamathpur
273. *Mukunda (Chai)* : Disciple of Sri Chaitanya's elder brother, Biswarup; Later became a Sri Chaitanya Bhakta.
274. *Mukunda (Ni 45)* : Ballav Ghosh's son; His brothers-Basudeb, Gobinda and Madhab—were Pada-makers like himself. Some of his brothers became monks.
275. *Mukunda (Ni 49)*
276. *Mukunda Kaviraj (Ni 48)* : Baidya (Sri 272 etc.)
277. *Mukunda Datta (Chai) [Madhubrata]* : Sri Chaitanya's class-mate and possibly a brother of Basudeb Datta; Kirtan-singer; Baidya; Chattogram/Kanchanpally (Nabadwip) (Sri 92, De 25, Mu 2/4/12 etc.)
278. *Mukundadas (Chai) [Brindadebi]* : Baidya; Srikhanda (Sri 181-84 etc.)
279. *Mukunda Modak* : Parameshwar Modak's son; Nabadwip (Cha 3/12/5)
280. *Mukunda Roy* : Born at Shantipur; May be one of Nityananda branch (Sri 114 etc.)
281. *Mukunda Sanjoy* : Brahmin; Nabadwip; Sri Chaitanya opened a Sanskrit school or 'tole' in his house. (Bha 1/7/73, Ja 24)
282. *Murari Gupta (Chai) [Hanuman]* : Baidya; Srihatta-Nabadwip; famed as a Pada-maker and as a Karcha-writer. (Sri 88, De 22 etc.)
283. *Murari Chaitanyadas (Ni)* : Brahmin; Brindabanpur (Galshi) (Sri 250 etc.)
284. *Murari Pandit (A)* : Brahmin (Cha 13/10/9)
285. *Murari Mahati (Chai)* : Kayastha; Oriya; SikhiMahiti's brother (Ka 13/90 etc.)
286. *Jadukabichandra (Ni)* : Ratnagarbha Acharya's son; Brahmin; Srihatta-Nabadwip (Sri 244, De 117, Bri 110). Some 14 Padas of Jadubhanita are in the 'Padakalpataru'.

287. *Jadu Ganguly (Ga, Jadu)* : Brahmin; Jadunath says, his name is Jadunath Chakraborty.
288. *Jadunandan (Chai)*
289. *Jadunandan Acharya (A)* : Initiator of Raghunathdas Goswamy
290. *Jadunath (Chai)* : Kulingram (Sri 268 etc.)
291. *Jashobanta* : One of Panchasakha
292. *Jadabdas (A)*
293. *Jadabacharya* : of Gadadhar branch, says Jadunath
294. *Raghunandan (Chai 117)* : Author of 'Jyotishtattwa' where the year 1489 Shakabda (1567 A.D.) is mentioned.
295. *Raghunandan (Chai 76) [Pradyumna]* : Baidya; Srikhanda (Sri 181-82 etc.)
296. *Raghunath (A)*
 Raghunath (Ga) : See Bhagabatacharya
297. *Raghunath Tirtha* : (Sri 270 etc.)
298. *Raghunath Bhatta (Chai) [Ragmanjari]* : Son of Tapan Misra who lived in Kashi (Mu 4/1/17 etc.)
299. *Raghunathdas (Chai) [Rasamanjari or Ratimanjari]* : Kayastha; Nilachal-Brindaban (Sri 149-50 etc.)
300. *Raghunathdas* : (Sri 191, De 77, Bri 65)
301. *Raghunath Bipra [Barangana]* : Mentioned with Oriya devotees (Sri 223 etc.)
302. *Raghunath Baidya (Chai 124)* : Baidya; Nilachal (Mu 4/17/21 etc.)
303. *Raghunath Baidya Upadhyay (Ni)* : Baidya; Nityananda's Bhakta, says Brindabandas in his Sri Chaitanyabhagbat
304. *Raghu Nilambar (Chai)* : Nilachal
305. *Raghupati Upadhyay* : Met Sri Chaitanya at Kashi; possible writer of the book, 'Purusharthakaumudi'. (Charitamrita 2/19/85)
306. *Raghu Misra (Ga) [Karpur Manjari]*
307. *Ratnakar Pandit [Nidhi]*

308. *Ratnagarbha Pandit* : Brahmin; Nabadwip; Krishnananda, Jib and Jadunath Kabichandra are his sons; was noted for Bhagbat-recital.
309. *Ratnabati [Brishabhanuputni]* : Wife of Madhab Misra and Gadadhar Goswamy's mother
310. *Raghab Goswamy [Champaklata]* : Brahmin; Drabir-Gobardhan (Sri 151-52 etc.)
311. *Raghab Pandit (Chai, Ni) [Dhanistha]* : Brahmin; Panihati (Mu 4/1/4 etc.)
312. *Raghabpuri [Siddhi]* : (Sri 134, De 50)
313. *Rajib Pandit* : Brahmin; Nabadwip
314. *Rajendra (Chai)* : Rajendra like those of his ilk formed a sub branch of the Vaishnab community even as Rup Sanatan formed a main branch, as reported in the literature. (see cha 1/10/83)
315. *Ramgiri* : (Ja 88)
316. *Ramchandra Kaviraj (Ni)* : Siranjib Sen's son according to the Gouriya Math ed. of Cha; not to be confused with another of this name, who was a friend of Narottam Thakur. He is Raghunandan's disciple, says Mrinalkanti Ghosh, diputing the above contention.
317. *Ramchandra Khan* : Reportedly helped Lord Chaitanya in his passage to Nilachal from Chhatrabhog. (Bha 3/2/383-85)
318. *Ramchandra Dwija* : Brahmin; Utkal; preached the Vaishnab cult in orissa. (Sri 243, De 237, Bri 110)
319. *Ramchandra Puri [Bibhison and Jatilaa]* : Krishnadas Kaviraj regards him as Madhabendra Puri's disciple but expunges his name from the list given in the section 1/9 of Cha. Charitamrita deems him execrable. But Dr. Majumdar asks back—'Had it been so, would he, then, be adored by the Vaishnab Bandana writer?' (Sri 125, De 45, Bri 43)
320. *Ramtirtha (Sri 269)*

321. *Ramdas* : The pattern setter of the still prevalent Gouriya Vaishnab way of worship and mentioned in all Vaishnab texts. Was an attendant of the Pathan—Bijuli Khan—in his earlier life was called a 'Pir' for his black robe. ['Pir' is a Muslim recluse] Pravu converted him and christened him Ramdas. (Cha. 2/18/197, 2/8/198)
322. *Ramdas (Chai) [বিচক্ষণ শুকপক্ষী]* : Shibananda Sen's son; Baidya; Kanchanpally (De 73; no old Punthi mentions any hymn to him)
323. *Ramdas Kabichandra (Chai) [Kurangaakshee]* : (Sri 106, De 33, Bri 36)
324. *Ramdas Balak* (Sri 252, De 122)
325. *Ramdas Bipra [Cha. 2/1/109, 2/9/195]* : Dakshin Mathura; Brahmin. Sri Chaitanya inspired him, showing slokas of the Kurma Puran.
326. *Ramdas Biswas* : Kayastha; taught Kabyaprakash, adored Raghunath
327. *Ramananda (J73)* : Brother of Gadadhar Pandit's mother
328. *Ramananda Roy (Chai) [Arjuna, Arjuniyaa, Lolita]* : Bhabananda's son; Karan (Sri 166-8 etc.)
329. *Ramananda Basu (Chai) [Sukanthi]* : Gunaraj Khan's son (Sri 239 etc.)
330. *Ramnath [One of the Chatuswan]*
331. *Ram Bhadra (Ni)*
332. *Rambhattacharya (Chai)* : Brahmin, Nilachal (Cha 2/10/177)
333. *Ram Sen (Ni 48)* : Baidya
334. *Ramai (Chai)* : Pravu's attendant at Nilachal
335. *Rudra Pandit [Baruthap Gopal]* : Brahmin, Ballavpur
336. *Rup Goswami (Chai) [Rupmanjari]* : Brahmin; Brindaban Hymns of Worship occur in Sri, De, Bri. (Sri 136-42, De 51, Bri 47)

    Rup Goswami abdicated high office and turned a mendicant. In Sri he is eulogized as a versatile scholar.

337. *Lakshman Acharya* : (Sri 247, De 119)
338. *Lakshminath Pandit (Ga, Jadu) [Rasonmad]*
339. *Lakshmipriya* : Biswambar Misra's first wife (Sri 31, De 9, Bri 12)
340. *Lokenath [One of Chatuswan]* : Jadunath says, he is a Bhatta.
341. *Lokenath Pandit (A) [Lilamanjari]* : Talkhera (Jashore i.e., the place name often misspelt as Jessore): Padmanabha Chakrabarty's son; Brahmin; Resident of Brindaban (Bhaktiratnakar, P. 21)
342. *Bakreshwar (Chai) [Aniruddha]* : Jadunath says, he is Gadadhar's disciple; Brahmin; Akna (Seteri according to the Kalna ed of Cha). On Sarbabhoum's testimony he was older than Sri Chaitanya but preached the Sri Chaitanya cult in southern and western (Sri 169-70, Mu 3/17/27, ka 13/145, Na 1/20 etc.)
343. *Banamali Acharya [Bishwamitra 18]* : The match-maker in Lakshmi's marriage. (Sri 119-20, De 42, Bri 41)
344. *Banamali Kabichardra (A)*
345. *Banamali Das (A) [Chitraa 131]* : Possible patronym : Kaviraj; brother to Bishnudas Baidya; disciple of Raghunandan; Ghoraghat (Sri 224, De 107)
346. *Banamali Pandit (Chai) [Sudama]* : Indigent devotee: Brahmin; Nabadwip (Sri 108, De 68, Bri 37)
347. *Banamali Pandit [Maladhar 144]* : Gour's favourite (Gourballav)
348. *Baladedv Mahati* : Oriya; Kayastha (Sri 236, De 114 etc.)
349. *Balbhadra Bhattacharya (Chai) [Madhurekshanaa]* : Brahmin; Nilachal; followed Sri Chaitanya to Brindaban.
350. *Balaram (A)* : Adwaita's son
351. *Balaram Odra* : Oriya, Mattabalaram (Sri 230, De 110, Br 102)

352. *Balaram Khutia* : Kanai Khutia's son: Oriya (Sri 228, De 109, Bri 100)
353. *Balaramdas (Ni)* : Brahmin; Dogaachhi (Near Nabadwip) His 53 Padas are included in Gourpadatarangini. Haridas Goswamy, the illustrious Vaishnab litterateur is among his descendants. (Sri 255, De 124, Bri 188)
354. *Ballabhacharya [Janak]* : Lakshmi's father (Sri 115-6, Mu 1/9/6; Bha 1/7/73, Cha 1/15/25 etc.)
355. *Ballav Acharya/Bhatta [Shukdeb]* : Founder of the Ballavaachaari community. (Sri 253, Cha 2/1/249) Dr. Majumdar rejects U.N.Sinha's scepticism about the above report.
356. *Ballavchaitanyadas (Ga)*
357. *Ballav Rangabati* : Kashi
358. *Basanta (Ni)*
359. *Basudha [Baruni]* : Nityananda's wife (Sri 41-42 etc.)
360. *Baninath Nayak (Chai)* : Ramananda Roy's brother; Oriya; Karan (Sri 165 etc.)
361. *Baninath Basu (Chai)* : Kayastha; Kulingram
362. *Baninath Bipra (Chai) [Kaamlekhaa]* : Brahmin; Chanpaahaati (near Nabadwip); reportedly the icons of Gour and Gadadhar set up by him are being worshipped still. (Mu 4/17/22 etc.)
363. *Baninath Brahmachari (Ga)*
364. *Bamaranya (Ja 88)*
365. *Basudeb* : Brahmin; Kurma Kshetra (Mu 3/14/3; ka 12/106 etc.)
366. *Basudev Dwija* : Brahmin; Nabadwip; on the occasion of the drama being staged at Nabadwip it was, allegedly, he who played the mark-up man. (Na 3/12)
367. *Basu Ghosh (Chai, Ni) [Gunatunga]* : Padakarta (Padamaker); Kirtan-singer; Kayastha; Kulai (Bardhaman) (Sri 196, Bha 3/5/455 etc.)

368. *Basudeb Tirtha [Jayanteya]* : (Sri 271, De 131, Bri 130)
369. *Basudev Datta (Chai) [A singer named Madhubrata]* : Baidya; Chakrasil in the district of Chattogram; later a resident of Nabadwip and Kanchanpally; brother of Mukunda Datta (see Jayananda, P. 73) Krishnadas Kaviraj writes that Sri Chaitanya had told Shibananda Sen to look after the domestic matters of Basudeb Datta. He was, allegedly, to go over to Utkal (see De 26). But Kabikarnapur's account does not support the view. (Sri 93 etc.)
370. *Bijoydas (A)*
371. *Bijoy Pandit (A)*
372. *Bijoy Lekhak (Chai) [Nidhi]* : Sri Chaitanya's scribe to copy his books (Sri 107 etc.)
373. *Bijulikhan* : A Pathan Prince who was converted by Sri Chaitanya into a Vaishnab (Cha 2/18/197)
374. *Vidyananda (Chai)* : Kulin gram; Gadadhar's favourite
375. *Vidyananta Acharya* : Of Gadadhar branch on Jadunath's view
376. *Vidyanidhi [Nidhi 103]* (Sri 103)
377. *Vidya Bachaspati [Sumadhura]* : Sarbabhoum's brother; Brahmin; Piralya (near Kulia) (Mu 3/17/14, Bha 1/1/11 etc.) Sri Chaitanya stayed at his place during his temporary return to Gour. Sanatan Goswami has lauded him in a book of his.
378. *Bipradas* : Oriya (Sri 225 etc.)
379. *Bishwarup [Baladeb]* : Sri Chaitanya's elder (Sri 25-26, De 7, Bri, Mu 1/2/8, Ka 2/20, Bha 1/1/9, Ja 11, Cha 1/15/9) Bishweshwarananda Acharya [Dibakar] (Sri 135, De 51 etc.)
380. *Bisnai Hazra (Ni)*
381. *Bishnudas* : Brahmin; Nabadwip; Bishwambhar's teacher (Sri 102, De 34, Bri 34, Mu 1/9/1, Ka 3/2)

382. *Bishnudas (Chai 149)* : Sadashib's son; better known as Kabindra Bishnudas. There is the hearsay about Srichaitanya's command that made him settle in Sanoragram (Dhaka). Bhaktiratnakar (P. 1045), however, denounces him as a reprobate sinner.
383. *Bishnudas Acharya (Ni)* : Brahmin; Nabadwip; brother to Nandan Acharya.
384. *Bishnudas Baidya* : (Sree 223, De 106, Bri 98)
385. *Bishupriya [Bhri]* : Bishwambhar Misra's second wife; [First realized her husband's divinity and expressed her conviction to her husband—Lord Chaitanya.] Murari writes that this spiritually advanced lady had set up a bigraha (image) of her husband for all to worship. (see Mu 4/14/8). Bishnupriya has been referred to in all biographies of the Lord, and in all Vaishnabic books. (Sri 31, De 9, Bri 12, Mu 4/14/8)
386. *Bishnupuri* : Author of 'Bhaktiratnabali'; disciple of Jaydharma (on Kabikarnapur's view) but of Madhabendra Puri (on Krishnadas's view); Trihut. [Dr. Majumdar confutes Dr. Sushil De's contention that Bishnupuri belonged to a pre-Chaitanya age and lived long before Sri Chaitanya was born. Dr. Majumdar cites four convincing arguments to show that a long-lived Bishnupuri did receive the grace of Madhabendra Puri and Sri Chaitanya.] (Sri 132 etc.)
387. [No entry. two entries against 379 seem to be counterpoised by the omission. The total number of Parikars is infallibly recorded by Dr. Majumdar despite the above discrepancies.]
388. *Birchandra (Birbhadra) [Sankarshan]* : Brahmin; Khardah (Sri 51-54 etc.) Krishnadas Kaviraj does not explicitly refer to his being Nityananda's son. His being a disciple of Nityananda is a possibility. The fact remains that despite his converting 1200 Buddhists into

the Vaishnab cult, he had adversies because he was a maverick, who had of tuft of hair on his head such as other Nityananda-camp followers had.

389. *Buddhimanta Khan (Chai)* : A moralist who practised sensual continence. He bore the expenses of Bishnupriya's wedding with Bishwambhar. (Bha 1/10/111; Mu 4/17/10; Bha 1/8/84 etc.)
390. *Brindabandas (Ni) [Vedavyas and Kusumapirh]* : Author of the Chaitanya Bhagbat; born at Kumarhatta (á la Joykrishna); resident of Maamgaachhi. The sanskrit version of his work in Bengali is preserved in the SP library (book numbered 1691 is that).
    [Joykrishna concurring with Uddhabdas writes, 'Narayani (mother of Brindabandas) became a widow in her childhood'.]
391. *Brihachhishu [Patrak]*
392. *Bangshibadan [Bangshi]* : The patriarch or the earliest forefather of Bangna Para's Goswamys; Chhakrhi Chatopadhyay's son; Kulia; Brahmin. (Sri 249, De 86, Bri 114). There are 17 padas (with poet's name given as Bangshidas and 25 such under Bangshibadan's name). Satishbabu deems the two persons identical. Some quasi-authentic texts like 'Murali Bilas' and 'Bangshisikshaa' mention Bangshi also.
393. *Brahmagiri (J 88)*
394. *Brahmananda* : Jadunath places him in the Gadadhar branch. One Brahmananda used to sing kirtan in Sribas's house along with Bishwambhar. (Bha 28/243)
395. *Brahmananda Bharati (Chai)* : Madhabendra's disciple (Sri 133 etc.)
396. *Brahmananda Puri* : Madhabendra's disciple. (Sri 129 etc.)
397. *Baidyanath (A)*
398. *Shankar (Chai)* : Kulingram

399. *Shankar (Ni)*
400. *Shankar Ghosh [Mridangi Sudhakar]* : Adroit instrumental musician; One Pada by him is there in the 'Gourpadatarangini'. (Sri 281, De 137 etc.)
401. *Shankar Pandit (Chai) [Bhadraa]* : Damodar Pandit's brother; Brahmin; Puri. (Sri 95, Mu 4/1/4 etc.)
402. *Shankarananda Saraswati* : Gave Gunjamala and Gobardhanshila to Sri Chaitanya, bringing them from Brindaban. (Cha 3/6/282)
403. *Sachi [Jashoda]* : Sri Chaitanya's mother (Sri 23, De 6, Bri 10) Mentioned in every biography of Sri Chaitanya.
404. *Shikhi Mahiti (Chai) [Raaglekhaa]* : Oriya, Karan (Na 8/2, Mu 4/17/22, Bha 3/9/493 etc.)
405. *Shibai (Ni)*
406. *Shibananda Odra (Chai)*
407. *Shibananda Chakrabarty (G, Jadu) [Labanga Manjari]* : Fulia, Brindaban (Sri 284, Bri 138 etc.)
408. *Shibananda Pandit* : Mentioned with Oriya devotees (Sri 239, Ja 29)
409. *Shibananda Dastur (Chai)* : Nilachal; the patronymic, Dastur, is found among Parsees.
410. *Shibananda Sen (Chai) [Biradutee]* : Pada-maker; Kabikarnapur's father; Baidya; Kanchanpally. There is the Charitamrita (3/2) report of his worshipping the Gourgopal mantra, which has nothing to do with the name of Lord Chaitanya. (Sri 179-80, Bri 62 etc.)
411. *Shuklambar Brahmachari (Chai) [Jajna Patrika]* : Kumarhatta, Nabadwip (Sri 107, De 32, Bri 35, Mu 2/1/20 etc.)
412. *Shuddha Saraswati* (Sri 157 etc.)
413. *Shubananda Dwija (Chai) [Malati] (Cha 2/13/38)*
414. *Sekhar Pandit (Chai)* : Raghunandan's disciple in the opinion of Ramgopal Das; Not to be confused with the

later Pada-maker, Chandrasekhar, whose epilogue used the Sekhar.

415. *Sri [Yogamaya]* : Adwaita's wife
416. *Srikar (Chai 109)* : Brahmin; Kanchisali (Sri 246 etc.)
417. *Srikanta* : Sribas's brother according to Na 1/18; But the Charitamrita gives the names of Sribas's brothers as Sri Ram, Sripati and Srinidhi. (Ja 47)
418. *Srikanta Sen (Chai) [Katyayani]* : Son of Shibananda Sen's sister; Baidya; Kanchanpally (Ka 15/106, Na 8/33, Cha 2/11/78)
419. *Srigarbha [Nidhi]* : Was in the Kirtan troupe at Sribas's Shrine; ascetic; Brahmin; Nabadwip. (Sri 103, De 31, Bri 35, Mu 4/17/9 etc.) Sloka numbered 84 in the 'Padabali' is his.
420. *Sridhar (Ni 45)*
421. *Sridhar (Chai 65) [Kusumaasab] [Kholabechaa Sridhar]* : Brahmin; Nabadwip (Sri 108, Bha 1/1/11, Mu 4/17/8 etc.)
422. *Sridhar Brahmachari [Ga, Jadu] [Chandralatikaa]*
423. *Srinath Pandit (Chai 105)* : Brahmin; Kumarhatta; Karnapur's Guru; Author of an annotation of the Bhagbat entitled 'Chaitanyamatachandrika, says Haraprasad Shastri. Since he is Karnapur's preceptor his life is not described in the 'Gourganoddeshdipika'. (Na 1/5)
424. *Srinath Misra ((Chai 108) [Chitrangi]* : Mentioned along with Oriya bhaktas; Brahman; Utkal (Sri 237, De 113, Bri 106)
425. *Srinath Chakrabarty (Ga 82, Jadu) [One of the Chatuswan]*
426. *Srinidhi (Chai 7) [Nidhi]* : Sribas's brother (according to the 'Charitamrita')
427. *Srinidhi (Chai 108)*
428. *Sripati (Chai)* : Brahmin; Srihatta, Nabadwip, Kumarhatta; Sribas's brother. (Bha 5/24, Na 1/18)

429. *Sribatsa Pandit (A)*
430. *Sribas (Chai) [Narad]* : Brahmin, Srihatta, Nabadwip, Kumarhatta. Mentioned in all Srichaitanya biographies (Sri 81, De 17, Bri 24)
431. *Srimanta (Ni)*
432. *Sriman Pandit (Chai 35)* : Of him is said in the 'Charitamrita',

     'As the Lord's in a dancing spree
     Aloft he holds the lamp in glee.'—

   (English version by the translator). His residence was at Nabadwip. Sloka numbering 143 of the 'Padyaabali' is possibly his writing (Bha 2/1/140-43, Ja 29, Cha 2/10/81)
433. *Sriman Sen (Chai 50)* : A devotee and a servitor of Lord Chaitanya with devotion to the Lord as his preoccupation. Ramgopaldas considers him a disciple of Raghunandan and a worshipper of Lord Krishna.
434. *Sriranga Kaviraj (Ni)* : Baidya
435. *Sriranga Puri* : Madhabendra's disciple (see Bha 2/9/258). He met Sri Chaitanya during the Lord's tour of the deccan and informed him of the demise of Shankaranya.
436. *Sri Ram (Chai 108)*
437. *Sriram Tirtha [Jayanteya]* : (Sri 269, De 130, Bri 129)
438. *Sriram Pandit (Chai 6) [Munisrestha Parbat]* : Sribas's brother (Mu 2/25, Ka 5/41, Bha 1/2/16, Ja 29)
439. *Sriram Pandit (A 63)*
440. *Sri Hari Acharya (Ga) (Ja 83)*
441. *Sri Hari Pandit (Ja 73)*
442. *Sri Harsha (Ga, Jadu) [Subeshini]* : Mixed title/surname is interpreted by Jadunath as an indication that he was a Brahmin.
443. *Sankarshan Puri* : Srijib considers him Madhabendra Puri's disciple (290)

444. *Sanketacharya* : Jadunath places him in the Gadadhar branch
445. *Sanjoy (Chai)* : One of two Sanjoys occurring in the Vaishnaba literature was an object of Srijib's adoration. (Sri 11, De 38)
446. *Satyagiri* (Ja 88)
447. *Satyaraj Khan (Chai) [Kalakanthi]* : Kayastha; Kulingram; Graced by Haridas Thakur; Second son of Maladhar Basu (alias Gunaraj Khan) and father of Ramananda Basu; Originally named Lakshminath Basu, he was honoured by the Ruler. Who conferred on him the sobriquet of 'Satyaraj Khan'. But, then, in one important text, Ramananda Basu has been said to be the son, not of Satyaraj Khan but of Gunaraj Khan. (vide Chaitanya Chandroday Natak 9/2). (Mu 4/17/13, Cha 2/10/87)
448. *Satyananda Bharati [Jayanteya]* : Gopatipara; Worshipper of Lord Krishna (Sri 130 etc.)
449. *Sadashib Pandit (Chai)* : Brahmin, Nabadwip; Nityananda would put up in his house at Nabadwip (see cha); practised ascetic continence (vide Sri 103). (Sri 103, Bri 35, Mu 4/17/7; Bha 3/9/491)
450. *Sadashib Baidya Kaviraj (Ni) [Chandraabalee]* : Father of Purushottamdas; Baidya; Kanchanpally (Sri 177, De 71 etc.)
451. *Sanatan (Ni)* : Das Sanatan (See Bhaktiratnakar, p. 588)
452. *Sanatan Goswamy (Chai) [Ratimanjari]* : (Sri 143-4, De 51, Bri 47)
453. *Sanatan Misra [Satrajit]* : Bishnupriya's father (Sri 117-18, De 41, Bri 40, Mu 1/13/3, Ka 3/12/8, Bha 1/1/12, Ja 2)
454. *Sarangadas (Chai)* : Bhagabatacharya Thakur Sarangadas [Cha] [Nandimukhi] Burhan (but kulia, says Aviram, is his native village); temple on his graveyard

at Garbeta in Medinipur; his stead still extant at Jannagar/Mougaachhi (see Bishupriya-Gouranga Patrika, 7,10,386) (Sri 213, De 101, Bri 91)

455. *Sarbabhoum (Chai) [Brihaspati]* : Maheshwar Bisharad's son and Vidya Bachaspati's brother; Piralya (near Nabadwip); lived in Puri subsequently. (Sri 221, De 104, Bri 96, Ja 3) Mentioned in all Sri Chaitanya biographies. Mrinalkanti Ghosh repudiates the popular notion that Muslim oppression forced him to leave Nabadwip and settle in Mithila to learn by heart the 'tattwachintamani'. There is no evidence to suggest that Sarbabhoum was the teacher. of Sri Chaitanya or Raghunath Shiromani.

456. *Singabhatta (Chai)* : Nilachal; possibly, a Maharastrian.

457. *Sinheshwar (Chai)* : Oriya Brahmin (N182) (Sri 233, De 112, Bri 104 etc.)

458. Siddhanta Acharya (J 73)

459. *Sita [Yogmaya]* : Adwaita's wife; Nrisinha Bhaduri's daughter several quasi-authentic tales of her miracle-making feats occur in the books like 'Sitacharitra' and 'Sitagunakadamba' of uncertain truth-value each Sri 71-72, De 16, Bri 23).

460. *Sukhananda Puri [Siddhi]* : Madhabendra's disciple (Sri 128, De 47)

461. *Sugrib Misra* : Fulia (Sri 171, De 69, Bri 59) He is said to have constructed a mental bridge from Kulia to Gour (vide Bri 59). Unfortunately, Nrisinhananda Pradyumna Brahmachari is also credited with the same feat as one learns from the Charitamrita.

462. *Sudarshan [Bashishtha]* : Professor of Sri Chaitanya (Sri 102, Mu 1/9/1 etc.)

463. *Sudama Brahmachari* : Of Gadadhar branch (according to Jadunath)

464. *Sudhanidhi (Chai) [Nidhi]* : Ramananda Roy's brother; Karan; Oriya (De 66)
465. *Sundarananda (Ni) [Sudam]* : Haldaa Maheshpur (Jashohar) (Sri 201, De 84, Mu 4/22/11, Ja 56, Lo 3) Some rumours attribute to him the power to give Harinam to the tiger's ears.
466. *Subuddhi Misra (Chai) [Gunachurha]* : Brahmin; Belgan (says Amulya Bhatta) but Guptipara-neighbourhood (says Joykrishna) (Sri 237, De 113 etc.)
467. *Subuddhi Roy (Cha 2/25/140)* : It is not known whether he saw Sri Chaitanya.
468. *Sulochan (Chai) [Chandrashekhar]* : Baidya; Srikhanda, Ramgopal Das says, Sulochan is Raghunandan's disciple; one of sulochan's padas is included in the 'Gourpadatarangini'. (Mu 4/17/13 etc.).
469. *Sulochan (NC).*
470. *Surya (NC).*
471. *Suryadas Sarkhel (NC) [Kukudmi]* : Father of Nitayananda's wife; Shaligram (Sri 248 etc.)
472. *Swapneshwar Dwija* : Brahmini; Oriya; he invited Sri Chaitanya to Remuna (Ka 19/73, Cha 2/16/99). A book entitled 'Vaishnab Saroddhar', in Oriya, is there in the Library of the Maharaja of Surangi; the name of its author is Swapnadas.
473. *Swarup (A)* : Adwaita's SonI Swarupshakha according to Charitamrita; Rupsakha in the 'Sitakadamba'.
474. *Shashthibar Kirtaniya Kabichandra (Chai)* : Slokas numbering 321, 349 and 367 of the 'Padyabali' are his compositions, which is the reason why he is known as Kabichandra.
475. *Hadidap Pandit (Haarhaai Pandit of books in Bengali) [Basudeb]* : Nityananda's father; Brahmin; Ekchaka (Sri 35, De 10) In the Gou da di' his name is given as

Mukunda. May be, Haarhaai was his nick-name and Mukunda his formal name.

476. *Hari Acharya [Kalakshi]* : Jadunath says, he is of the Gadadhar Branch.
477. *Haricharan (A)* : The book, 'Adwaitamangal' has been attributed to him.
478. *Haridas (Chhota) (Chai)* : Kirtan-Singer.
479. *Haridas (Barha) (Chai) [Raktak]* : Kirtan-Singer.
480. *Haridas Thakur (Chal) [Prahlat and Brahma]* : Burhan, Fulia, Nilachal (Sri 85, Bri 26 etc.) Jayananda says, Haridas Thakur was born at Bhaatkalaagaachhi.
481. *Haridas Dwija (Chai)* : Mentioned with Utkal-based bhakta, he was honoured by the inclusion of two of his padas in the 'Gourpada tarangini' and four such in the 'Padakalpataru'. (Sri 225, Mu 4/17/5 etc.)
482. *Haridas Laghu (Cha 2/18/46)* : Srirup's companion in visiting the Gopal icon. It is not known whether he ever met Sri Chaitanya.
483. *Haridas Brahmachari (A)*
484. *Haridas Brahmachari* (Ga, Jadu)
485. *Hari Nandi* (Ja 84)
486. *Haribhatta* : Brahmin; Dravidian
487. *Hariharananda* (Ni) (Sri 270, De 131 ebc.)
488. *Halaayudh [Prabal]* : Nabadwip (Sri 109, De 36) Jaykrishna says, Nityananda favoured Halaayudh who lived in the Ramchandrapur neighbourhood of Nabadwip.
489. *Hastigopal* (Ga, Jadu) [Harini]
490. *Hiranyak (Chai) [Jajnapatni]* : Brother to Jagadish, friend to Jagannath Misra; Brahmin, Nabadwip (Bha 1/4/41, Ja 140)
491. *Hridayananda (Chai 109)* : (According to Jadunath) disciple of Gadadhar

492. *Hridayananda Sen (A)* : Baidya. The 'Bhaktiratnakar's encomium on him refers to his being 'a home of virtues'.

493-517. *According to Jayananda, the following 32 ladies were present to see Sri Chaitanya off as he made for Gaya* : Narayani, Sarbani, Malini, Sita, Jaya, Chitralekha, Sulochana, Mayabati, Chhaya, Subhadra, Koushalya, Khema, Mudrika, Janaki, Chandrakala, Ratnamala, Usha, Chandramukhi, Nanda Baishnabi, Bishnupriya, Bhagyabati, Brahmi Jahnabi, Gouri, Satyabhama, Sati, Savitri, Bijoya, Lakshmi, Rukmini, Parbati, Jambabati, Arundhati, Champa, Saraswati. Jayananda concludes the list of 32 women with a distich, which is translated herebelow :

Garlands, betels, sandal wood paste and all—
Were offered to Lord by each weeping gal.

* * *

Appendix B

(A list of mentioned works of non-extant manuscripts)

[These are all hand-written works, evidently.]

1. Ishwarpuri, Srikrishnalilamrita
2. Kanai Khutia, Mahabhav Prakash
3. Gopal Guru, Slokaabali [Title of the work unknown but its slokas occur passim on the 'Bhaktiratnakar.]
4. Gobinda Kaviraj, Sangitmadhabnatak (Bhaktiratnakar, pp. 17, 18, 20, 33)
5. Gopal Basu, Chaitanyamangal (Mentioned by Jayananda)
6. Gouridas Pandit, Padaabali (Do)
7. Parmananda Puri, Gobindabijoy (Do)
8. Radhakrishna Goswami (Haridas Pandit's disciple), Sadhandipika (slokas therefrom quoted on pp. 89, 92 of the Bhaktiratnakar
9. Nrisinha Kaviraj, Nabapadya
10. Sarbabhoum Bhattacharya, Chaitanya Sahasra naam (mentioned by Jayananda). The manuscripts (Punthis) of Srikrishna ChaitanyaCharitam and of Karcha by Murari Gupta are not available. If Punthis could be found a better edition would be feasible by means of collation, using them and the printed books.

* * *

Appendix C

Specimens of Sanskrit and Bengali verses

Dr. Majumdr says—'I have found at the Barahanagar library' 'an' index (Prepared by Krishnadas Kaviraj) of Radhunathdas Goswamy's works. Three of his Punthis are there in the Barahanagar library. The ink and the script of the one numbering 1052 suggest that it is three hundred years old. Radhaballav Das's index of the said Dasgoswami as seen in the 'Brihadbhakti tattwasar' would seem like a copy in Bengali of Krishnadas's index in Sanskrit. A comparative study of the two would serve to show the extent to which writings in Sanskrit have provided materials for ancient Bengali literature. So I am quoting them each. Selective translations in English of the two by the present translator follow, where, inessential rhetorical verbiage of the original Sanskrit and the original Bengali would be bowdlerized. Three verses each of the Panegyrics are deemed enough here.]

(Specimen 1 of Krishnadas's Sanskrit verse) :

Sri Chaitanya's grace left Raghunath a waif
shorn of homestead, power and pelf
To be entranced by the beckoning supreme's self.

(Specimen 1 of Radhaballav's Bengali verse) :

Sri Chaitanya's grace creates
In Raghunath a quaint abnegating craze—
Abdicating all, he seeks the Lord's grace.

(Specimen 2 of Krishnadas's Sanskrit verse) :

As a bee to lotus is he tied to Lord's feet
Srirup-lured albeit, he 'd also greet
Sanatan or wish Bhatta to meet.

(Specimen 2 of Radhaballav's Bengali verse) :

The bee of his mind is at Lord's Lotus feet
Inosculated with Srirup is he, but 'd greet
Sanatan also and like Bhatta to meet.

(Specimen 3 of Krishnadas's Sanskrit verse) :

Losing Krishna, Radha stinted herself to cant
Her Lord's name; so does Raghunath starve and pant
For the deceased Chaitanya and seems benumbed.

(Specimen 3 of Radhaballav's Bengali verse) :

As Radha gave up all self-indulgence
At Krishna's passing, so this one of sapience
Nearly starves and cants the Chaitanya cadence.

* * *

Appendix D

Use of slokas by earlier authors, which slokas are in the text also

(1) Padmapuran

1. Aaraadhanaanaang 2/11/7, Sindhu 131, Laghu, U4: (2) Iteedrik 2/19/39 Hari bhah bih 16/99
3. Tadiye 2/19/39, Hari bhah bih 16/99;
4. Tasyah Paare 2/21/14, Laghu Purba 5/248
5. Dwoubhutasargou 1/3/18 (Parmatma Sandarva p. 7-8. But. 'Taduktang Bishudharmagni Puraanayoh')
6. Na desha 2/6/17 Hari bhah bih 11/302;
7. Naamoika Jasya 3/3/3 Hari bhoh bih 10/289
8. Prodhan Para byomnorantare 2/21/13, Laghu. 5/247;
9. Byamohaaya 2/20/15 Sindhu dah 4/73 Hari bhah bih 1/68 Laghu 2/53;
10. Jathaa Radha 1/4/40, 2/8/24, 2/18/2 Ujjwal, 101 Laghu 184;
11. Jastu Narayanang 2/18/9; 2/25/..34 Haribhah bih 2/73;
12. Harou rating 2/23/13 Sindhu 200
13. Ramante Jemaginohnante 2/9/3 Natak 7/21

(2) Aadipuran

1. Troilokye Prithibi dhanya 1/4/41 Laghu U 46;
2. Mahatmya-mathat-Saparjyaam 1/4/39 Laghu U 39; 3. Je me bhaktajanah Partha 2/11/4 Sindhu 135 Laghu U6.

(3) Kurmapuran

1. Deha-dehibibhagoyang 3/5/5 Laghu 5/342:
2. Parikshasamaye bahning 2/9/17 Sri Chai Chah Mahakabya 13/13;
3. Sita yaaradhiko bahnih 2/9/16 Mahakabya 13/12.

(4) Garurh Puran

1. Arthoyang Brahmasutraanaang 2/25/35, Hari bhah bih 10/283
2. Purgaganaang Saamrupah 2/25/36 Hari bhah bih 10/284

(5) Brihannaaradiya Puran

1. Harernam 1/7/3, 1/17/3, 2/6/19 Chaitanya Chandrodaya Natak 1/52, Murari 2/2/28

(6) Brahmaanda Puran

1. Sahasra naamnaang 2/9/6, Laghu 5/354;
2. Siddha lokastu 1/5/6 Sindhu 1/2/138, 167

(7) Skanda Puran

1. Ahodhannyosi 2/24/84 Sindhu 196;
2. Ete nahyad 2/22/65, 2/24/83 Sindhu 159;
3. Mattulyo naasti 2/1/10 Sindhu 2/65, 107

(8) Brihadgoutamiya Tantra

1. Debi Krishnamayee 1/4/3, 2/23/23 Satsandarbha, Preetisandarbha 761 Nityaswarup Brahmachaari Debnagar Sang;
2. Tulasidal maatren 1/3/19, Sindhu 285, Hari bhah bih 11/10

(9) Saatwat Tantra

1. Bishnostu Srinirupaani 1/5/10, 2/20/31 Laghu 2/9

(10) Kaatyaayan Sanhita

1. Barang huta 2/22/42, Sindhu 86 Hari bhah bih 10/224

(11) Narad Pancharaatra

1. Ananyamamata Bishnou 2/23/4, Sindhu 213;
2. Munirjatha bibhaagen 2/9/15, Laghu 386, Hari bhah bih 11/382;
3. Sarba Paabibi nirmuktang 2/19/21, Sindhu 1/1/10

(12) Bishnudharmottar

1. Naam Chintamani Krishna 2/17/5 Hari bhah bih 11/269 Sindhu 1/2/108

(13) Mahabharata

1. Achintyah Khalu je bhabah 1/17/10. Sindhu dah sthaayibhaba 51
2. Krishirbhubaachak-Shabdo 2/9/4 Natak 7/22
3. Subarna barno hemargah 1/3/8, 2/6/5, 2/1/--5/ Natak 8/19
4. Tarkohpratishthang Srutayah 2/17/11, 2/25/9, Chai bhah 504

(14) Ramayana

1. Sakrideb Prapanna ja 2/22/12 Hari bhah bih 11/397.

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Appendix E

Vaishnab Bandana (in Sanskrit), which is ascribed to Srijib

The verse attributed to Sri Jib is incredibly repetitive. The same sort of laudatory epithet describes a Vaishnab luminary as also any humble believer in the doxy. Nothing much will be lost if a brutal summary supplants the rhetorical original rife with pleonasm of an amateurish kind. Dr Majumdar gives no inkling of his own reaction although he does not declare it as SriJib's own work. The title of the present Appendix contains the expression 'ascribed to SriJib', which by itself speaks volumes for the skepticism of Dr. Majumdar as to the genuineness of the ascription. It is in the fitness of things that a gist rather than a paraphrasing is being attempted in what follows. The summary of the said verse in English would, by its very brevity cover up the foible of repetitiveness as the translator hopes.

Vaishnab Bandana (Sanskrit) : an English version in brief

God's human birth in Sachi's womb
Entrances all by the peerless boom
of the new creed of Love
Revealed as from Above.
History hardly finds a compeer
Of Sachi's son, Chaitanya, as every seer
By apercu sees in him the Incarnate
Of God for Kali's dumbfounded state.

*

Sachi like Jashoda beseems as Radha seems
To reappear in Bishnupriya's mantle—all this
Is clear to the Lord's entourage
Of Nityananda, Madhab and Ishwar of advanced age.

They saw through his human cloak to see
The indwelling face of divinity.

*

I bow to Malini, Chandra and Sribas,
To Nilambar, Kabichandra, Ramdas.
I adore Lakshmi, Bishnupriya and Keshab as well
As Swarup, Gopal and Raghunath who tell
Of the mystic truth the Avatar represents,
By forgiving men's frailties which he never resents.
So Mukunda, Sugrib, Gobinda are all
My idols—so Tulsi and Shibananda also fall
Into the most reverent class
Adorned by Adwaita, Murari and Chaitanyadas.

[The refrain of the eclogue is the single-minded devotion to Lord Chaitanya, which transfigured the life of every Vaishnab from what it was to what it was not. As the elaborate list of Parikars already enumerates each, we need not look to the verse, in question for a recounting of the old tale. So it is that we merely give the spirit of the verse, obliterating the letter more often than not.]

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Appendix F

A list of Vaishnab magazines, extant and extinct

Haridas Goswami's article in the 'Sri Sri Bishnupriya Gouranga', 1, 10, 1330 B.S., referred to the titles of 12 extinct and 8 extant Vaishnaba magazines. In the first number of its second year the said magazine saw Mr. Goswamy mention seven more extinct magazines of this genre, making it 27 in all. Of these 13 names are outside the Sahitya Parishad list of 14 such. Dr Majumdar gives a list (in chronological order) of all these. Since he had no opportunity of looking to a magazine for a second time, errors—not exceeding a year's discrepancy—may crop up, as he says himself.

1. The 'Nityanandadayini' Patrika (Published every three months) : The author procured a few numbers of this magazine from Mrinalkanti Ghosh. Haradhan Datta's article in the first number of the selfsame magazine extols it as the very first of Vaishnaba magazines. But Haridas Goswami does not even mention this (allegedly) premier maagazine of Vaishnabism. First published in 1278 B.S. from Jorasanko Sasthitala, this organ of the Nityanandadayini Sava Published such materials too as were to appear as printed books later on. But, then, prior to their assuming book-forms through the good offices of Ramnarayan Vidyaratna of Baharampur and Nityaswarup Brahmachari of Brindaban, they were serialled in the magazine, in question. The magazine is a memorable one where the following 25 books were published :

   (1) Raagbartmachandrikaa (2) Jugalkishore Sahasranaam () Tanmahatmya (3) Chhaya Goswamir Suchak () Sitadwaita Charitra (4) Srimadbhagbat mahatmya (5) Sri Chaitanya Chandramrita—text with annotation and translation (6) Sri Urdhaamnaaya Sanhita (7)

Oitareyopnishat (8) Sri Radhakrishna Rasa Kalpabalwi (9) Sri Sri Vishnumantrer Anusmriti (10) Kabi Karnapur's Ananda Brindaban Champu Kabya (11) Ishan Sanhita (12) Sri Krishna Chaitanya Mahapravur Sahasra Naam Stotram (13) Sri Gadadhar Pandit Goswamir Janma Karmaa-di lilaguna barnanaa by Sri Narahari Sarkar of Srikhanda (14) Sri Sanatan Goswamy binirmitang Sri Gadadhar Pandit Goswaamyastakang (15) Sri Nayananda Goswamy binirmitang Sri Sri Gour Gadadharastakang (16) Sri Goswamy, Lokenath Goswamy, Swarup Goswamy O Shibananda Chakrabarty krita Chariti Gadadharaastak (17) Srirup Goswamir SriKrishna Chaitanyaastak tinti (18) Raghunathdas Goswamir Chaitanya Stabakal-pabrikshah (19) Sri Baishnabdas Babaji krita Sri Krishna-chaitanyaastak (20) Biswanath Chakrabartyr Sri Sri Gouranger Astaakaliya lilasmaranmangal Stotram (21) Jadunathdas krita Gadadhar Pandit Goswamir Shaakhaanirnayaamrita (22) Naraharidas Krita Nabadwip Parikramaa (This book was printed first in the Nityadayini magazine (1280 B.S.) and then as a part of the Bhaktiratnakar (1295 B.S.) and, thereafter, unnecessarily by the Sahityaparishad as well (23) Krishnadas Kaviraj Krita Brindaban Parikramaa (24) Krishnadas Kavirajer Swarupbarnan (25) Mukunder Ragaanugaa bibriti in Sanskrit and with a Bengali version thereof. The said magazine announced the publication of the play, Sri Brindabanchandrodaya in the advertisement section of its second part. The author, Dr. Majumdar says that he has not heard even of the name of such a play. Radhabinode Das Babaji happened to be the editor of the magazine, 'Nityanandadayini'.

2. The 'Sajjantoshini' of Late Kedarnath Datta Bhaktibinode Thakur was the second Periodical of Vaishnabs. It was first published in 1291 B.S. The magazine created history

in the new religious compaign of Bengal. The numbers 1, 10, 18, 19 and 20 are not in the Sahitya Parishad. It would be opportune for the Parishad to procure these too. The magazine preached the pure form of the Vaishnaba creed among the literati.

3. The 'Premprachaarini' was the third of the Vaishnab Periodicals as Late Haradhan Datta wrote in the Vishnupriya in the first year of its publication (1298 B.S.) The magazine remains unmentioned in the above lists and also unseen by Dr. Majumdar.
4. The 'Vaishnab' (1293 B.S., 400 Chaitanyabda) had Jaharlal Das for its editor.
5. Mahatma Sisir Kumar Ghosh sponsored the publication of the 'Bishnupriya Patrika' in 1293 B.S. (405 Chaitanyabda). The Sahitya Parishad does not possess any of its numbers, however. The magazine was in circulation for 23 glorious years during which it rendered great service to the Vaishnab Community, besides publishing reports on numerous unpublished books in manuscript forms (Punthis). Mrinalkanti Ghosh possesses its entire set. Haridas Goswamy of Nabadwip possesses most numbers too.
6. The 'Sri Chaitanyamatabodhini (406 Chaitanyabda i.e., 1299 B.S), edited by Radhikaprasad Bhagabat Ratnakar and Saratchandra Tapaswi, published the naissance and the polemics of the doctrine known as Gourparmyabad or the premiership of Gouranga Mahapravu. Dr Majumdar possesses most of the numbers (of the first two years) of the magazine. But the Sahitya Parishad has none.
7. The 'Acharya'—unseen by Dr. Majumdar who, therefore, omits its date—edited by Madangopal Goswamy and Shashibhusan Bandyopadhyay serialled the 'Bhaktirasaamrita Sindhu' before it saw the book form. Dr. Majumdar speculatively assigns to this periodical the

seventh place in the chronological ordering, taking a cue from the association with the magazine of Madangopal Pravu.

8. The Pallibasi (1304) edited by Shashibhusan Bandyopadhyay at the inception but latterly by his son, Gopendubhusan Samkhyatirtha is not to be found at all in the Sahitya Parishad Library. Neither did Gopendu Babu preserve the complete set in a bound form. An old file thereof is there, however, at Kalna.
9. The 'Birbhumi Patrika' which later became the organ of Vaishnabic 'higher criticism' under the editorship of Kuladaprasad Mallik. Founder-editor : Nilratan Mukhopadhyay, who was a Chandidas pada compiler.
10. The 'Sri Goureshwar' (1306, editor : Lalit Mohan Goswamy)
11. The 'Gourbishnupriya' (1307)
12. The 'Sri Gouranga Patrika', 1307, ed. Jatindrachandra Mitra
13. The 'Gourbhumi Patrika', 1308, ed. Ramprasanna Ghosh, Patron : Maharaja Manindra Nandy
14. The 'Bhakti', 1309 ed. Dinabandhu Vedantaratna. Later ed. Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharya. First published (as an organ of Bhagbatdharmaprachaarini sava) from Howrah. Subsequently published from Andulberhia.
15. The 'Vaishnab Sangini', 1310, ed. Madhusudan Adhikari. Place of publication : Eleti (24 pgs.)
16. The 'Vaishnab Sandarbha', 1310, ed. Nityaswarup Brahmachari
17. The 'Sri Gouranga Patrika', Sita Kunda (Chattogram), 1315, ed. Jogendra Mohan Ghosh
18. The 'Vaishnabsebika', Kalikata, 1317 ed. Harimohan Das
19. The 'Gourangasebak', 1318 first editor : Lalitmohan Bandyopadhyay; financier : The Late Kashimbazar Maharaja. Published many research works on its pages.

20. The 'Vaishnabdharma Prachar. Mankar, 1318, ed. Krishnahari Goswamy
21. The 'Chaitanyachandrika', Brindaban, 1319, ed. Radhacharan Goswamy
22. The 'Vaishnab Dharma Prachar', Mankar, 1319, ed. Krishnahari Goswamy
23. The 'Sri Sri Krishnachaitanya tattwapracharak' (Weekly); ed. Priyanath nandy, Kalikata, 1319
24. The 'Nityananda Sevak' ed. Purnachandra Roy, Sannyasidanga (Murshidabad), 1320
25. The 'Acharya', ed. Balkrishna Goswamy, Brindaban, 1321
26. The 'Bishwabandhu,' ed. Bidhubhusan Sarkar, Baasanda (Barisal), 1321
27. The 'Haridas', ed. Gobindachandra Mukhopadhyay, Saidabad (Murshidabad), 1321
28. The 'Ananda', ed. Maheshchandra Bhatacharya, Saakhuaai (Moimansinha), 1321
29. The 'Vaishnabsamaj' eds. R. B. Samkhyatirtha, B.D. Goswami, 1324
30. The 'Prempuspa', eds. R.M. Vidyabhusan and G.L. Goswamy, Kalikata, 1325
31. The 'Seva', ed. Jogendramohan Ghosh, 1326
32. The 'Gouriya', ed. Sundarananda Vidyabinode, 1329. (Scholastic articles were brought out in this periodical)
33. The 'Bishnupriya Gouranga', ed. Haridas Goswami, Nabadwip 1329
34. The 'Srikrishna', ed. K.C. Ganguly (Mentioned in the 'Bishnupriya Gouranga' in 1930 but Dr. Majumdar did not see it.)
35. The 'Nibedon' edited by Bhaktibinode Thakur's sons, (Mentioned in the 'Bishnupriya Gouranga in 1930; never seen by Dr. Majumdar)
36. The 'Madhukari', (its editor was the well-known professor, Bhusanchandra Das and manager Bamacharan

Basu) Baharampur, 1329

37. The 'Sonar Gouranga', ed. Jogendranath Deb, Saayestaaganj (Sreehatta), 1330
38. The 'Gouranga Priya', ed. Kunjalal Goswamy, Nabadwip, 1330
39. The 'Mahauddharan', ed. Nabadwipchandra Ghosh, Dhaka, 1331
40. The 'Bhaktipatrika', ed. Sucharubhusan Ghosh, 1332
41. The 'Sadhana', ed. Prof. Radhagobinda Nạth, Coomilla, 1333
42. The 'Sajjan Sevak', ed. Satish Ch. Chattopadhyay, Raja, Jibanpur (Medinipur), 1333
43. The 'Gouranga Madhuri', Srikhanda (Bardhaman), 1334 (editor : the famous Vaishnabacharya Rakhalananda Thakur)
44. The 'Bhakti Prava', ed. Satyananda Goswami (former title : Vaishnabsangini), 1334
45. The 'Sattwat Patrika', ed. D. N. Das Adhikari (mouthpiece of Vaishnabs in family life), 1335
46. The 'Bhaktilata', ed. Gourgobinda Vidyabhusan, 1335
47. The 'Purnima', ed. S. B. Homechoudhury, Aatgharia (Moimansing), 1335
48. The 'Vaishnab', ed. Vaishnabacharya R. M. Vidyabhusan, 1336
49. The 'Angina', ed. Gopibandhu Das, Faridpur, 1337
50. The 'Shyamsundar', ed. Pravupad Satyananda Goswamy, 1338.

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